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SPECIAL REPORT

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Crowds Hail Nyerere in Dar es Salaam.

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Mali Heads for 1960 Independence

BY HELEN KITCHEN

IT IS a rare phenomenon when the ardently nationalistic people of a dependent area, hearing the news that their leaders have extracted an agreement for early independence from the former colonial authority, dance in the streets singing praises to the metropolitan power and its chief of state. Yet this is what happened in the ebullient capital of the Mali federation, Dakar, Senegal, on December 14, when President Charles de Gaulle of France arrived to tell the Mali Federal Assembly personally that Mali's request for full independence in 1960 would be granted, and that negotiations toward this end would begin in Paris in late January.

The aura of festive good will toward France was not in celebration of independence *per se*—this was never doubted, though the means and timing were—but of the implicit assurance that the transition was to be made without losing France's friendship and without experiencing any of the disabling economic and political penalties inflicted upon Guinea when it opted for independence in 1958. Thanks to some very able politicking by Mali's leadership triumverate—Federal Premier Modibo Keita, President of the Assembly Leopold Senghor, and Senegal President Mamadou Dia—it now appeared that Mali would both have its cake and eat it. The festive welcome to General de Gaulle, set in motion by Premier Keita in a radio address to the nation shortly before the French President's arrival, was the high point of a half-year campaign of soft words and steady pressure which has paid big dividends.

Old Empire Revived

It was barely a year ago—on December 29 and 30, 1958—that a group of political leaders from Senegal, Soudan, Dahomey, the Voltaic Republic, and Mauretania sat down in Bamako, Soudan, to talk about the problem of balkanization in Africa, and came up with



—French Embassy Information Division

MODIBO KEITA

the concept of a Mali Federation, named ambitiously for the great African empire which flourished between the 11th and 18th centuries, sweeping deeply inland from the coastal state of Senegal. Mauretania never seriously considered joining in the early stages, and Dahomey and the Voltaic Republic got cold feet and withdrew an original pledge of adherence under economic and political pressure from the anti-federalist Ivory Coast.

When Mali formally came into being on April 7, it was a sharply whittled-down version of the original dream, for only Senegal and Soudan remained. The short-term future did not look bright. Leaders of the Mali States, bitter at France for alleged machinations against the Federation through the cover of the Ivory Coast, set out to build sentiment for federalism from the grass roots up—through the establishment of a new inter-territorial party, the *Parti Federalist Africain*. Parties now affiliated to PFA won every seat in the general elections in both Soudan and Senegal, confirming the Mali leaders firmly in power, and federalist forces began to gather strength on a smaller scale elsewhere in West Africa too.

But what really raised the alarm in Paris and sharply altered Mali's prospects for the better were the growing signs of rapprochement, as spring wore on, between Mali's Premier Keita and Guinea's Sekou Toure. The spectre of a Mali Federation outside the French community in alliance with Guinea was almost certainly a prime factor in the new and friendlier respect for Mali aspirations which characterized French policy from early June on.

Community to Change

By September, General de Gaulle had let it be known that he was, indeed, sympathetic to Mali's desire for inde-

pendence. By November 26, when Mali's triumverate arrived in Paris to present the French Government with a document defining their goals in precise terms, de Gaulle had quite obviously decided to move, and without rancor, in the spirit of the times. He saved his first official pronouncement of blessing, however, for the final session of the Executive Meeting of the Community held in Saint Louis, Senegal on December 12-13. The Community, it was now clear, would be permitted to evolve into a much looser and more flexible association of more fully sovereign states similar to the British Commonwealth. Once the gate was opened for Mali independence it had to be assumed that other states would be in line, and that the Community would have to be restructured.

(On this score, General de Gaulle did not have long to wait. On his way to Senegal in early December for the meeting at Saint Louis, the President stopped in Mauritania long enough to hear officially that a request for independence would be forthcoming at some unspecified date. Within 48 hours after de Gaulle had given Mali independence a sympathetic send-off in Dakar, the obviously irritated President of the Malagasy Republic, Philibert Tsiranana, was hastening to Paris by air to discuss independence for his own country, which, he said, "must come at the same time as independence for Mali." At the conclusion of his reportedly rewarding talks with French officials on December 20, President Tsiranana told the press that Dahomey had also asked President de Gaulle for full sovereignty. Even Ivory Coast Premier Felix Houphouet-Boigny, long-time bitter opponent of transforming the relationship with France into a commonwealth-type arrangement, issued a special statement at the conclusion of the Executive Council meeting in Saint Louis that amounted to an about-face: he expressed his "sincere hope" that the Mali negotiations would have a "happy conclusion." An increasing body of observers believe that Houphouet-Boigny, whose political star appears to be waning, might yet become a federalist in an attempt to recoup his position in the Ivory Coast if popular opinion seems to be moving irrevocably in that direction.)

January Negotiations Set

Under the present Community arrangement, set up after the September 28, 1958 referendum, each of the territories is fully self-governing on national affairs, but France retains control of certain key "Community" functions. These include foreign affairs, defense, currency, common economic and financial policy, strategic raw materials policies, and, except in special cases, higher education, justice, organization of external transport, and

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Nigeria Elects 1960

Independence Parliament

A COLORFUL election featuring campaigning by helicopter and relatively few disturbances came to an end in Nigeria with a slow trickle of results for two days after the polling, as many remote districts had to send their results miles by camel or canoe to reach the telegraph to Kaduna, Ibadan, Enugu, or Lagos. But well before the last constituency had been declared, Governor-General Sir James Robertson had confirmed the clear trend by calling on Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the dominant Northern Peoples' Congress to form the Government that will guide Nigeria's independence.

The Federation of Nigeria, Africa's largest country with a population approaching 40 million, is scheduled to obtain independence from Great Britain Oct. 1, 1960.

The December elections were for 312 seats in Nigeria's Federal House of Assembly. Because Alhaji Abubakar's party won less than a majority (142), it has gone into coalition with its leading rival (81 seats), the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, but Dr. Azikiwe himself remains out of the Cabinet. Instead, he is to be President of Nigeria's new Senate, which was due to be established in January.

The following resume of the election results was prepared by a Nigerian correspondent:

Constituency Breakdown

Polling took place Dec. 12 in Nigeria's 312 electoral constituencies. Of these, 174 are in the Northern Region, which has about 55 per cent of the population and two-thirds of the land area of the country. The rest of the seats are: 73 in the Eastern Region, 62 in the Western Region and 3 in the capital of Lagos.

The imbalance of regional representation in the House is, to a degree, modified by the composition of Nigeria's Senate, which is based on equal representation for all the Regions. Here, however, members are not elected but are nominated by the various governments of the Federation.

The elections were held by secret ballot and were based on universal adult suffrage in the Eastern and Western Regions and in the Capital Territory. In the Northern Region, where the ruling party, the Northern People's Congress, has not yet divorced itself from the old prejudice against woman suffrage, they were based on male adult suffrage. This brought down the number of eligible voters to just under 10 million and, of these, 75 per cent went to the polls.

Several parties, as well as several independent candidates, took part in



Nigeria Information Dept.
ALHAJI ABUBAKAR
Nigeria's Prime Minister

the contest, but most of them were in alliance with one or the other of the three main Nigerian parties. These are: the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.), the ruling party in the Northern Region, led by Northern Premier Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto; the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.), the ruling party in the Eastern Region and opposition party in the Western Region, led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe; and the Action Group (A.G.), the ruling party in the Western Region and the opposition party in the Eastern Region, led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Other parties included the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.), the opposition party in the Northern Region, which is in alliance with, and contested the elections in the Northern Region on behalf of the N.C.N.C.; and the Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons (D.P.N.C.), led by Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe, former N.C.N.C. Federal Minister, who challenged the leadership of Dr. Azikiwe 18 months ago and broke away from the party to form his own new party. All the contesting parties were identified by easily recognizable symbols on the ballot boxes for the voters—who need not be literate to know the parties of their choice. The Action Group had for its symbol a palm tree; the N.C.N.C. a cock; the N.P.C. a hoe, the N.E.P.U. a five-pointed star;

and the D.P.N.C. an elephant. Altogether 936 delegates contested the election: 571 in the North, 181 in the East, 176 in the West and 8 in Lagos.

The Issues

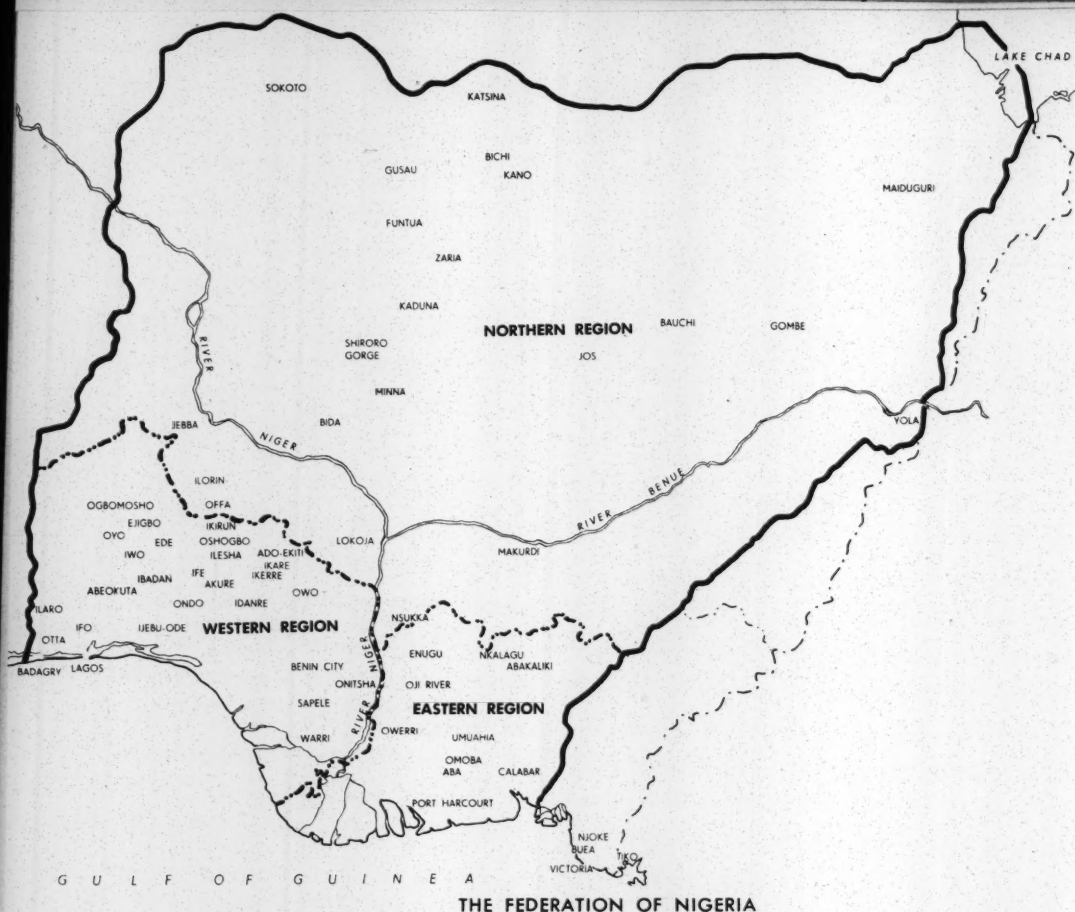
On the broad question of developing a stronger, richer, more efficient and generally more progressive Nigeria, all parties were in agreement. Party differences lay mainly in matters of method and the means of achieving aims like educational systems, social services, Nigerianisation of the Civil Service and so forth. Other issues included such questions as foreign relations after independence and the formation of new States within Nigeria. Foreign relations played a major role in the campaigning. Dr. Azikiwe's N.C.N.C. and Mallam Aminu Kano's N.E.P.U. favored the line of neutralism and non-alignment with either of the two major blocs, as represented by the present nationalist trends among the new and growing countries in Asia and Africa. Chief Awolowo's Action Group and, to a lesser extent the N.P.C., advocate firm alignment with the Western bloc.

The Results

The election gave the N.P.C. a resounding victory in the three-cornered fight in the Northern Region. By virtue of that victory, and since the Region controls more than half of the total seats, the party emerged as having the largest number of members in the House. The final state of the parties was: N.P.C. 142; N.C.N.C./N.E.P.U. alliance 89; Action Group 73; and Independents 8. The N.P.C. wins are all from the North's 174 seats. Of the remaining 32 Northern seats, the Action Group captured 24 from the Middle Belt area, which is agitating for a separate state from the Northern Region and whose cause the Action Group is advocating. The N.E.P.U. won the rest of the 8 seats for the N.C.N.C. with which it is in alliance.

In the Eastern Region the N.C.N.C. won 58 out of the 73 seats. The Action Group got 14 and the remaining seat went to an Independent candidate. All the 22 candidates of Dr. Mbadiwe's D.P.N.C. were defeated, including Dr. Mbadiwe himself. Action Group gains were all from Calabar and Rivers Provinces where the Action Group was agitating for a state separate from the Eastern Region. It is interesting, though, that the actual leaders of the movement for C.O.R. (Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers) State were all defeated by the N.C.N.C. Notable among them are Dr. Udo Udoma, Mr. Ubani-Ukoma and the leading Nigerian anthropologist, Mr. Okoi Arikpo, all of whom had been members of the Legislature for many years before.

In the Western Region, the Action Group won 33 of the 62 seats allotted to that Region. The N.C.N.C. won 21 seats and 8 seats went to Independents. Seven of the successful Independents are from Ibadan, the capital of the Western Region but stronghold of the



some parts of Nigeria including Lagos, the capital. He is now an ordinary member of the opposition in the House.

Another prominent election winner was Mr. Mathew Mbu, the recently appointed Nigerian Head of Mission to the United States. Mr. Mbu, a career politician, arrived in Washington early in October, but after a few weeks stay he resigned, apparently at the urging of N.C.N.C. leaders, to go back to Nigeria and contest the election in Ogoja, his home town in the Eastern Region. Following his victory, Mr. Mbu was appointed a Minister of State. The fact that he took this post, when others of comparatively junior status in the party have been given more important portfolios, raises speculation as to whether Mr. Mbu may get a bigger post after Oct. 1 this year.

Another puzzle which gave rise to much speculation was the absence of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in the new cabinet. It was out of the question to suggest, as some Western newspapers did, that it was a deliberate slight on the part of the Prime Minister, since all the seven N.C.N.C. Ministers were supplied by Dr. Azikiwe himself and his party. Dr. Azikiwe's appointment as President of the new Senate appeared to clear up the mystery.

Posts To Be Filled

Among the important posts to be filled by October this year are those of Minister of Defense and Minister for Foreign Affairs when responsibility for these will be taken over in Nigeria from the British on Independence. The new government is now composed of the Prime Minister and nine other N.P.C. Ministers, on the one hand, and of seven N.C.N.C. Ministers on the other. Ministers in the former government generally are charged with the same portfolios which they held before the dissolution of the old House. The new Ministers from the N.P.C. are Mallam Maitoma Sule, who is now Minister of Mines and Power; Mallam Shehu Shagari, Minister of Economic Development and Research; Mallam Usman Sarki, Minister of Internal Affairs; Mallam Waziri Alhaji Ibrahim, Minister of Health; Mallam Musa Yar Adua, Minister of Pensions, Establishment and Nigerianisation; and Mallam M. A. Olarewaju, Minister of State. The new N.C.N.C. Ministers, in addition to those in the old government, are Mr. Akinfosile, Minister of Communications; Mr. Benson, Minister of Information and Mr. M. T. Mbu, Minister of State.

The new House was scheduled to meet Jan. 11. The most important motion to be passed at that meeting is one calling upon the British Government to formally fulfill its pledge to grant independence to Nigeria on Oct. 1. The British Government is waiting for such a formal resolution from Nigeria in order to introduce and pass the necessary legislative instruments to enable Nigeria to assume her sovereignty.

N.C.N.C. They all belong to the N.C.N.C., but because of a rift within its local branch, in which the national leaders sided with what turns out to be the weaker faction, they all decided to stand as rebels against the party's official candidates and won as Independents. A similar rift within a local branch of the Action Group was responsible for the victory of the other Independent member who defeated the Action Group's official candidate, the rising radical member for Ife, Mr. Fani-Kayode. The N.C.N.C.'s gains in the Western Region were mainly from the "Mid-West"—a part of the Western Region which desires separation from that Region in order to become a separate state. They have traditionally voted in previous elections for the N.C.N.C. which professes the championship of their cause. The party won 12 out of the 15 seats allotted to that area.

The three seats for Lagos, the Federal capital, were shared by the NCNC and the Action Group, two to one, respectively.

Coalition Formed

A highlight of the election and its aftermath, of course, is the reaffirmation of Prime Minister Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Deputy Leader of the N.P.C. (the leader of the party, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, chose, as before, to remain in his Northern Region as Premier). Because the Prime Minister's party did not get an absolute majority over all other parties combined, it had to go into coalition with one of the two major parties. After long and protracted negotiations, it formed a coalition government with Dr. Azikiwe's N.C.N.C.,

with which it had a previous experience of similar cordial coalition. This throws the Action Group into the position of opposition party, with Chief Awolowo now as Leader of the Opposition.

Election of Dr. Azikiwe and Chief Awolowo to the Federal House was another important feature. Both men had served previously as Premiers of their respective Eastern and Western Regions. Their regional posts have now gone to their lieutenants: Dr. Okpara, former Minister of Agriculture in the Eastern Region, was named to succeed Dr. Azikiwe as Premier, and Chief Akintola, Deputy Leader of the Action Group and former Federal Minister of Communications and Civil Aviation, has been appointed Premier of the Western Region after winning a bye-election for the regional House.

Other Victors

Newcomers to the Federal House include N.E.P.U. Leader Mallam Aminu Kano, who was elected with a large majority in the Kano East constituency. Despite his formidable role in Northern Nigeria and the active part he played in all the constitutional struggles in the country, this was Mallam Aminu's first success after two earlier attempts, under the indirect electoral methods, to get elected into a legislature of Nigeria—first to the House of Representatives and, second, to the Northern House of Assembly.

Another successful candidate was Chief Anthony Enaharo, the former West Regional Minister of Home and Mid-west Affairs, who visited the U. S. some three months ago in connection with his government's TV scheme, which has since started to operate in

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SOUTH WEST AFRICA: "GRAVE CONCERN"

The nine member United Nations Committee on South West Africa, called into urgent special session, cabled the South African Government Dec. 19 to convey its "grave concern" over disorders in Windhoek, capital of the territory which South Africa acquired as a League of Nations Mandate and refuses to relinquish to UN Trusteeship. The disturbance resulted from a plan for the forced removal of Damara and Herero peoples to a new location outside of Windhoek. The UN committee charged South Africa with a "deplorable use of force" and a "complete disregard of human rights and dignity" after 12 Africans were killed and 32 seriously injured Dec. 11 when police opened fire on crowds which reportedly gathered following the arrest of 2 African picketers protesting the resettlement plan. Despite the protests, South Africa began the removals Dec. 14. Although the new location offers better living conditions, rental is much higher, its distance from the city center is much greater, and the plan is a clear extension of the South African pattern of residential "apartheid".

The UN took up the Windhoek troubles in a late evening meeting of the Trusteeship Committee hours before the scheduled close of this year's General Assembly session. After hearing three South West Africa petitioners, one of whom, Mburumba Kerina, had just learned of the death of a brother in the disturbances, the Trusteeship Committee referred the matter to the special South West Africa Committee for urgent consideration. In addition to sending a cable, the latter committee prepared a draft resolution for the next General Assembly session, deploring the forced removal of Windhoek residents. Meanwhile, moves were underway at the UN to persuade Secretary-General Hammarskjold to seek admittance to South West Africa during his tour of Africa in January. African leaders hope eventually to secure detachment of the territory from South Africa so that it can make normal progress toward nationhood. At present it is administered as part and parcel of South Africa, with the same racial policies as in the Union.

BELGIANS ACCUSED OF PARTIALITY IN RUANDA

From three different quarters this month came charges that the outbreak of disturbances between the Watutsi and Bahutu tribes in the Belgian trust territory of Ruanda in early November had been stimulated by Belgian political machinations:

- Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, speaking as chairman of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), issued a statement on December 4 urging the United Nations to take over direct responsibility for Ruanda-Urundi and describing reports of the tribal nature of recent disturbances as fabrications of the administering

authority "whose local administration has used this untruth as the screen behind which to perpetuate a regime of suppression."

- The Church Missionary Society of Ruanda Urundi was reported by the organization's newspaper New Day on December 5 to have protested to the Governor of Ruanda concerning the official role in the recent outbreak of violence. A news story by a special correspondent in Ruanda in the same issue reported that the authorities had not behaved "by any means impartially" during the trouble and alleged that for the first few days no effective action was taken to protect Batutsi who were being attacked; when Congolese troops eventually arrived on the scene it was more often the defenders than the attackers who were arrested. By the end of the second week, says the Church newspaper, every Batutsi house in the north had been destroyed.

- In a similar vein, the general secretary of a Ruanda political party comprising both Batutsi and Bahutu, the Union Nationale Rwandaise, appeared as a petitioner before the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations on November 21 to plead for UN investigation of the disturbances.

1959 ENDS TEMPESTUOUSLY IN THE CONGO

There was little in the tempestuous course of events in the Belgian Congo at the end of 1959 to suggest that political stability was in prospect for 1960, or for several years thereafter. Key talks shaped up for January between Congolese nationalists and Belgian officials in an effort to come to terms on a program for independence. These were the developments:

November 25: Belgium went part way to meet demands of Congolese nationalist leaders for an immediate roundtable conference in Brussels to establish a precise independence timetable. However, Minister for the Congo Auguste de Schrijver, arriving in Leopoldville, said that a roundtable conference would not be held until after the Congo's first territory-wide elections in December could give some indication of what leaders best represented Congolese opinion.

December 2: Joseph Kasavubu, leader of the ABAKO; Albert Kolonji, leader of the moderate wing of the Congolese National Movement; and M. Gizenga, president of the African Solidarity Party left for Brussels to try, unsuccessfully, to persuade Belgian officials to reconsider the possibility of roundtable talks before the elections. Belgian insisted that the talks be held in January.

December 8: Belgian authorities declared a state of emergency in Luluabourg after 15 Africans were killed in politically-inspired spear and shotgun rioting between the Lulua and Baluba tribes. Although the two tribes

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are traditional enemies, the immediate cause of this outbreak was said to have been a boast by a Baluba tribesman that his people (many of whom are affiliated with Baluba-member Albert Kalonji's Congolese National Movement) would win the election and thus "take over the whole region."

December 11: Belgium authorities extended military rule outward from Luluabourg into three neighboring regions of Kasai province as tension mounted between the Baluba and Lulua tribes. The official death toll reached 18.

December 15: Minister de Schrijver told the Belgian Parliament that the January roundtable might result in a substantial compression of the four year transition period established earlier this year leading to Congo independence. He said that direct elections of two legislative assemblies and establishment of a central Congo government might occur "several months ahead" of the announced target date of August or September 1960.

December 16: King Baudouin set out on what palace sources described as a 10 to 15 day "spur of the moment" tour to ascertain for himself "the general state of the Congo and the aspirations of the peoples."

December 17: Puzzlement was reported to be the prevalent reaction in Brussels to the Kings' unexpected trip, accompanied by some concern that he was risking the prestige of the crown by meddling in so delicate and unpromising a situation as the current Congo crisis. Welcoming African crowds were large, unruly, boisterous, but not hostile to the king. Many gathered at Leopoldville's prison, convinced he would personally liberate Patrice Lumumba, imprisoned leader of the Congolese Nationalist Movement.

December 20: The Belgian Congo's first election in history began calmly, as voters in towns throughout the territory went to the polls to elect members of municipal and territorial councils in what was to have been the first step toward self-government. The elaborate security precautions proved unnecessary, since the tack of the ABAKO and other groups boycotting the election was to stay home and strip election day of significance. The turnout was very light: for example, only about 31 percent of Leopoldville's registered voters voted, and there were only 102 persons out of more than 5,000 registered at the polls in the ABAKO stronghold of Boma in the Lower Congo. In some predominantly Bakongo (i.e., ABAKO) tribal areas, there were no candidates at all and thus no voting. Kasavubu, Kalonji, and other leaders spent the day across the Congo River in Brazzaville, presumably to disassociate themselves from any violence which might have occurred.

December 21: The militant nationalist groups claimed a sweeping victory in the elec-

tions, citing (1) the dramatic effectiveness of the boycott in areas where it was operative; (2) the sound defeat, despite the boycott, of the moderate Party of National Progress, which the militants regard as a tool of the regime; and (3) the impressive victories chalked up in such key centers as Luluabourg and Stanleyville by those radical parties which did not boycott the election.

December 26-27: A Congress convened in Kisantu by the ABAKO, the Kalonji wing of the Congolese National Movement, the African Solidarity Party, and two smaller groups, demanded that roundtable talks begin by January 5.

December 29: Minister for the Congo De Schrijver rejected the Kisantu Congress demand, said it would be impossible to advance the roundtable date from mid-January because neither he nor King Baudouin would return to Brussels to prepare for the talks until January 2. He reported that the King's tour of the Congo had shown that the six provinces have disparate views on the future state but are now unanimous in their desire for one great Congolese nation in the center of Africa. He said each of the six provinces would be represented at the January talks.

MACLEOD HEARS RIVAL VIEWPOINTS IN KENYA

Britain's new Colonial Secretary, Ian Macleod, arriving in Nairobi on December 13 in the course of his study tour of East Africa, met with both European and African political groups to get a preliminary earful of what will confront him at the January constitutional roundtable conference in London.

In a 90-minute talk with 13 of the 14 African elected members of the Legislative Council, the Colonial Secretary was urged to accept categorically, before the actual conference begins, "that the aim must be to establish in Kenya a "fully self-governing, democratic, and independent state, in which equality, justice, and individual freedom will be fundamental principles." Specifically, the Africans now seek a legislature with about 70 persons elected by universal suffrage on a common roll, with responsible government under an African Chief Minister in 1960. They accept the necessity of a "brief period" of adjustment from colonial rule before full independence.

ICFTU ALLOWS AUTONOMY FOR AFRICAN UNIONS

Ten days of increasingly bitter controversy between British trade union leaders and a coalition of American and African forces led by AFL-CIO President George Meany and Kenya's Tom Mboya ended in Brussels on December 11, with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' biennial congress adopting the US-backed plan to give the African

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Regional Labor Organization almost complete freedom of action. Representatives of the British Trades Union Congress advocated a go-slow attitude in accepting the Africans' demands.

Mboya, who is under considerable pressure from the rival, neutralist federation established by Ghana and Guinea to prove to the rank and file that the African Regional Labor Organization founded under his leadership in Lagos in November is not a puppet of the great powers, set a high price for continuing affiliation in the ICFTU. He won all of the following points:

- Autonomy within the ICFTU for the African Regional Organization, on a basis comparable to that of similar divisions in Europe and the Americas.
- A second African on the ICFTU executive board, as well as an African vice-presidency and strong African representation on the ICFTU permanent staff.
- A new and generous appropriation for continuing the ICFTU African Labor College in Kampala, Uganda.
- Assignment of a topflight trade unionist to deal exclusively with African labor affairs, and a green light for a continent-wide organizing campaign with ICFTU assistance.

STORM MOUNTS OVER MONCKTON COMMISSION

Viscount Monckton, scheduled to depart for Central Africa in late February as head of a 23-man commission charged with developing specific recommendations for the 1960 constitutional conference on the future of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was confronted in December with a widening boycott which implied a serious loss of authority. These were the major developments:

- The British Labor Party confirmed its earlier, tentative boycott of the Monckton Commission. Opposition Leader Hugh Gaitskell's forces not only refused to appoint the three prescribed Labor members of the working group on the grounds that it was not sufficiently representative of African opinion, but also seized upon the emotion-charged issue of the future of the Federation to launch a major attack on Prime Minister Macmillan's government. The atmosphere in Commons was increasingly bitter on both sides of the aisle.

- Leaders of three leading African nationalist groups in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland commended Labor's stand, and announced on December 10 that their members, too, will boycott the Monckton group by refusing to give testimony before it. Their grounds: "no useful purpose will be served by giving evidence." Announcement of the African boycott was made in London by Joshua Nkomo, self-exiled president of the Southern Rhodesian African Nation-

al Congress; Kanyama Chiume, self-exiled publicity secretary of the Nyasaland African Congress; and Orton Chirwa, president of the newly founded caretaker Malawi Party of Nyasaland, which claims to be filling the vacuum only until Dr. Hastings Banda and the African Congress leaders are released from prison.

- Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky, who originally regarded the Monckton Commission as a personal affront, has now jumped into the fray as its ardent defender. He openly charges the Labor Party with allowing the well-being of millions to be put in jeopardy for the sake of a few party gains and to stir up unrest. In December press interviews, Welensky listed his revised goals for the 1960 talks: independence for Southern Rhodesia forthwith; progress toward self-government for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; independence for the Federation, in Federal affairs, by 1961; abolition of Britain's right to veto federal legislation; and abolition of the African Affairs Board which acts as a safeguard against discriminatory legislation. This would be replaced by a new commission.

- Meanwhile, both in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, there were pointed indicators that the local governments were not about to give in to the mounting pressures for the release of Dr. Banda and other detained political leaders as a quid pro quo for cooperating with the Monckton Commission. Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland, said firmly on December 18 that the length of the emergency would depend on the time it would take for people still detained to be absorbed peacefully into their communities and that the question of the release of Dr. Banda would come up when he was not going to be a danger to law and order, and he did not know when that would be. In Southern Rhodesia, on the same day, the government published a bill providing the governor with wide powers for the preservation of peace. The new bill would enable the governor, "if he was satisfied that it was necessary for the preservation of public security to do so," to control publications, prohibit or control assemblies, the movement of persons, the acquisition, occupation and use of property, and to regulate and control supplies and services."

SUDAN EXECUTES FIVE FOR ATTEMPTED COUP

Two Sudanese Army officers and three former officers were executed at dawn on December 2 in Khartoum, after being convicted by a court martial of organizing the fourth attempted coup against the military regime of General Ibrahim Abboud on November 10. The officers were Colonel Ali Hamid and Captain Abd-ul Hamid Abd-ul Majid. Five others were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from life to 14 years. The executions were believed to be the first for political crimes in a half century.



Self-Rule in Tanganyika

By ROBERT C. KEITH

The coming to power of Julius Kibambe Nyerere in Tanganyika is a major landmark in African politics. The London *Economist* calls it the "watershed" of current developments on the continent. When Nyerere and his followers assume control of the Legislative Council and key ministerial posts in late 1960, subject for the time being to a Governor's veto, it will mark the first time in British Africa that an influential community of white settlers has passed under the authority of an essentially African government.

Announcement of the transfer of power, to take place after September 1960 elections, was made simultaneously December 15 by British officials in London and Governor Richard Turnbull in Dar es Salaam. The news touched off scenes of wild enthusiasm in the Tanganyika capital. Nyerere, slightly-built 37-year-old president of the Tanganyika African National Union, was garlanded with flowers and carried shoulder high from the Legislative Council through cheering, singing crowds. This was followed by a procession through the festive city, marking one of the happier moments in the emergence to nationhood of the so-called "multiracial" belt of Africa.

The decision announced in December has been in the cards for many months. For several years Nyerere has been building up one of the best organized and most effective political movements on the African continent. As early as 1958 it was abundantly clear that the British government had no choice but to yield power peacefully or face a period of turbulence in the one territory that clearly offered a hopeful pattern for solution of the all-pervading racial power struggle of East, Central and southern Africa.

The nationalist cause was possibly further aided by the fact that Britain has never appeared to take a primary interest in Tanganyika, except for natural concerns arising from the territory's key geopolitical position in Africa. Although Tanganyika is Britain's second largest dependency in land area, boasting the world's largest production of sisal for rope fibers and such features as Africa's highest mountain (Kilimanjaro) and the world's richest diamond mine, it has always faced an uncertain future and little development money has gone in. A German colony prior to World War I, the territory has since been administered by Britain as a League of Nations Mandate and later

as a trust territory under the United Nations.

The rise of Nyerere and TANU has, of course, dispelled all doubts over the political direction of the territory. During his student days at Makerere College and Edinburgh University, Nyerere was chiefly concerned with the more obvious grievances in his territory—social injustices, Europeans' special privileges, lack of opportunities for Africans. In the early 1950's, however, he made up his mind that he would give up his "politics of complaint" and turn to the "roots of the problem of colonialism." He founded TANU on July 7, 1954, in a wave of enthusiasm which has lasted until this day, and has brought one of the poorest, rawest and most economically backward territories of East Africa to a position where it will be the first to get self-government. Although no date has been announced, political forecasters look for complete independence by 1965 at the latest.

In developing the strong ideological base of his nationalism, Nyerere has had to overcome fears from many quarters—fears on the part of the older generation of Africans, who had seen an earlier nationalism ruthlessly suppressed by the Germans in a fearful bloodletting which rendered Tanganyikans a subdued and conquered people; fears of the chiefs, who foresaw their positions being eroded by the new force; fears of the European and Asian minority communities who envisioned the worst under an African government. Nyerere's wisdom, modesty and quiet humor, his careful political strategy and the strength of his determination to set an example of racial equality for Africa have helped to quiet these fears.

Nevertheless, observers point to a honeymoon atmosphere at the present stage in Tanganyika. In the future, factions of various kinds are expected to crystallize and come to the fore, and Nyerere may face far greater tests of his leadership than he has so far.

Meanwhile, Tanganyika's rise to independence under African rule has become a key factor in the Pan-African program of liberation, and is certain to influence developments in the seven states which touch her borders: British-controlled Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Belgian-controlled Ruanda-Urundi and the Congo and Portuguese-controlled Mozambique. Another result of Tanganyika's advance is that the South and Central African concepts of "partnership" or "separate development" under the rule of white minorities appear to face their strongest challenge to date.

TANGANYIKA'S EXAMPLE:

'We Cannot Afford To Fail'

By JULIUS NYERERE

I FIND myself today labelled on nearly all sides as a "Moderate." Sometimes this label is intended as an accolade—a badge of good behaviour—sometimes it is applied, more in sorrow than in anger, as a gentler reproach than "stooge." Insofar as my friends and I prefer persuasion to coercion, and constitutional means to bloodshed, I accept the label; but, however "moderate" we may be in our methods, the term should not mislead anybody into thinking that Tanganyika is content with half-measures.

For Tanganyika, as for every other country on the African continent, Justice demands complete Independence—and that immediately. There can be no tampering with a principle, and the principle here is the right of a people to govern themselves. No Colonial Power, however benevolent, has the slightest right to impose its rule on another people against their will; nor may such a self-appointed ruler claim praise or credit when it "grants" independence to its former colonial territories: neither more nor less credit is due than would be due to any other reformed wrongdoer.

Independence, then, is our right. But, we, the Africans of today, can afford to be generous, for we know that we speak from strength. We have suffered bitter humiliation under the imperialism of the past, but our suffering has taught us patience and it has taught us to understand the fears and prejudices of our former "rulers," better perhaps than they understand themselves. A child robbed of a treasured possession by an elder brother will scream and kick out at the oppressor, and will try to snatch back his property by force; we are not children. We can use courtesy in our methods of gaining what is rightfully ours; and we in Tanganyika are prepared to go even further—we have asked for, and we are getting, Responsible Government, and we intend to use the intervening period between Responsible Government and complete Independence to demonstrate to the diehards and the reactionaries that

Nyerere To Speak

Mr. Julius Nyerere, the probable first Prime Minister of Tanganyika, will speak under the auspices of the African-American Institute in New York on the evening of February 10. Proceeds of the occasion will be used to provide American university scholarships for Tanganyikan students. Mail orders should be addressed to the African-American Institute, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York. Tickets are \$50, \$25, \$10, \$5; students \$1.00 upon stating institution attended.

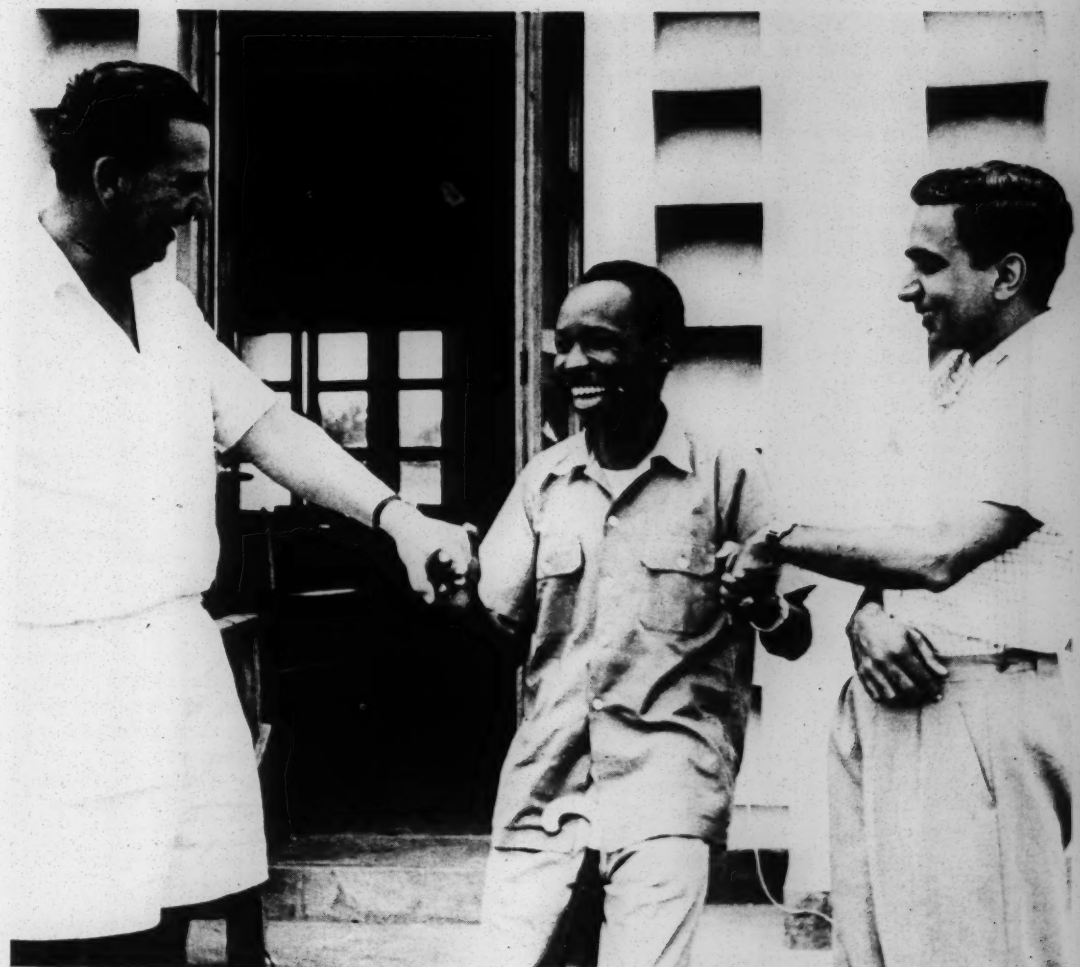
democracy is possible in countries with immigrant minorities, the so-called "plural societies."

Minority Fears Understood

In countries like ours, where human relations have been for so long bedevilled by mistrust and resentment between the three races, where these races have lived for generations side by side in the same land and yet remained isolated from each other behind artificial barriers of racial prejudice, and where the minority races have enjoyed privileges far beyond the reach of the majority, it is only natural that the immigrants should fear retaliation under majority rule. I have said that we understand those fears, and that we want to remove them. We know that the only effective way to do that is to prove our sincerity by our actions, for it is hard to reassure a frightened man by words and promises alone.

Our desire to give confidence to the non-Africans who have made their homes among us is, again, based on a principle: the principle of Human Rights. Because we condemn racial discrimination wherever it is practised we resent the South Africans and the Little Rocks. We believe that a citizen is a citizen no matter what his colour or country of origin; we believe that the Negro American, for example, is as much a citizen of the United States as any other American, and should not be treated in any way as if he were a second-class member of society. We have fought our battle here against the injustice of a colonial system which qualified the "rights" of an individual according to the colour of his skin. Are we now to turn around and deny that principle ourselves, by discriminating against those whose skins are not black?

I have been asked by visitors to Tanganyika, and especially by those who come from the Central African Federation, from Kenya or from South Africa: "How have you people achieved this unity? Why is Tanganyika so different from other mixed territories?" There is one great dif-



Nyerere celebrates with fellow TANU candidates G. T. Lewis and Amir Habib Jamal following their victory in Tanganyika's first elections in 1958—Tanganyika Public Relations Dept. photo.

ference: in Tanganyika the Asians and the Europeans have decided to trust us; in other territories, Nationalist leaders have said exactly what I have said and they have been locked up.

Progress Will Be Watched

We have been fortunate in Tanganyika, but the main task still lies ahead of us—the task of building up our country. In this we shall need all the help and encouragement we can get from our friends in America and in Europe. We cannot afford to fail now, for our progress will be watched from beyond our borders by those other countries whose human problems are still so tragically tangled. We have said we want to set an example to those countries, and now we have the chance to do so; but there is a very real danger that the lesson may be lost through being misunderstood. We are demonstrating in our own land that the "race problem" is no more insoluble than any other human problem; that indeed it simply disappears when the inherited fear and mistrust from the past is countered with confidence and goodwill. But the lesson must be learned aright. The example we are showing here is not to the Tom Mboyas, the Hastings Bandas, the Abu Mayanjas; we are not saying—"Look at us. We Nationalists of Tanganyika were reasonable;

we were moderate in our demands; we asked nicely, and just look how quickly the kind British people gave us a little slice of freedom as a reward." No! Our lesson must be learned by the diehards and reactionaries among the immigrants of Kenya, Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the rest. They are the ones who must learn that their only hope of security lies in trusting to the goodwill of the majority. Unless those who have made their homes in Africa can forget the past, can abandon their false claims to be the heavensent mentors of the African, and can listen to what they are being told without stopping their ears in panic, then the example of Tanganyika will have been wasted.

Building Tanganyika

As Tanganyika becomes self-governing we want our growth as a nation to be rapid, our credit to stand high and our independent status to be a beacon of hope to our brothers who are still struggling for justice in other parts of Africa. We know we need help; but, when we say that, we do not mean we want charity. We want, and we intend, to help ourselves and to build Tanganyika by our own efforts.

We have great natural resources. What we must do is to develop those resources ourselves, in co-operation with foreign capital and technical as-

sistance wherever that is necessary; and it will be our policy to attract such assistance and investment from overseas.

But we should not delude ourselves. History has shown that assistance is attracted firstly to countries where there is fear of communist influence, and that in Africa, investment comes primarily to those "plural society" countries where there is a White government in control—no matter how undemocratic it may be, as in South Africa—and only lastly and to a very small extent to those newly emerging states which can truly claim to be democratic. Where older nations with the means to assist under-developed countries do offer their help, the lesson is the same; the receiving countries are treated as pawns in the international game of chess. Assistance is usually given in order to counter the influence of this or that rival power, or, which amounts to the same thing, in order to buy the friendship of the receiving country provided that "friendship" includes enmity with the rival.

I say these things because we do not want to be misunderstood. It is not from any false pride, or from blindness, that we have been telling our people "... the war against our ignorance, poverty and disease is *our war*. It can only be won by *our own* sweat and toil..." It is simply because we have seen the warning of the past; we have seen that it would be unwise to pin our hopes too much on assistance from outside. Apart from the politics of foreign aid, there are also the hard economic facts; we know there are a number of countries today competing for outside investment, and that many of them are in a better position than we are to attract it.

Critical Period Ahead

Our most critical years are going to be the first years of Independence. It is during those first years that our need for assistance will be at its most urgent if our economic activity is to start off with a momentum great enough to ensure success in overcoming the poverty, disease and ignorance which is our legacy. And yet, if history repeats itself, it will be during those very years that the older countries with the means to help us, even the most friendly of them, will be watching us with suspicion. There will, of course, be offers of help forthcoming; but, as I have already said, some of these will have political strings attached and will be for that reason worthless—rather, they will be dangerous—and we shall have to do without them.

Those are the reasons which have made me urge my own organization, TANU, to change its slogan from UHURU! (Freedom) to UHURU na KAZI- (Freedom and Toil).

I hope the time will soon come when foreign aid for the underdeveloped countries of the world can be canalised

through a United Nations Agency; but until that happens we have no choice but to warn our people that the assistance we so badly need may not be offered in terms compatible with our freedom.

I may be proved wrong; I hope I shall be, because if help is too slow in coming there is a risk that the lesson we are trying to teach may never be learned, and the "beacon of hope" to our neighbours be damped to a flicker. I have emphasized the need for overseas investment in the earliest stages of our Independence, particularly because of a complication in the social structure of Tanganyika which makes it imperative for us to raise the standard of living for the common people here in the shortest possible time. In this country, as in most other colonial or ex-colonial "plural societies" of Africa, the economic divisions between rich and poor coincide almost exactly with the divisions between the races. Wherever extreme poverty exists beside a visibly high standard of living there is the risk of bitterness; when the problem is linked with racial differences it is even more potentially dangerous than in a monoracial society.

Must Close Gap

At present the African can see that his quarrel is not with the non-Africans in his midst, but with the colonial system itself. He does not allow his natural resentment against the humiliations of that system to degenerate into any sense of personal grievance against Asians or Europeans. But, when Independence comes, we must tackle this economic complication quickly; if we cannot close the gap rapidly enough, so that the differences in economic status become less glaring and, above all, are freed from their former link with racial divisions, there is a possibility that the potential danger might become a reality, and the economic problem bring us back to the very "race" problem which we claim to have solved.

That must not be allowed to happen. If it did, the tragedy would not be Tanganyika's alone. The diehards and reactionaries beyond our borders—the Doubting Thomases whom we are trying to convert—would point at us not as an "example" but as an "object lesson." They would not scruple to use that "object lesson" as a tool to repair the breaches in their entrenched position of privilege, by blaming our difficulties on "democracy misapplied."

Tanganyika has demonstrated that the "race" problem in itself can be overcome by teaching the immigrant minorities to trust in the goodwill of the majority. Our success or failure to overcome the parallel economic problem within the next few years may well decide the pattern of the future for the whole of East, Central and Southern Africa.

Library of Congress To Develop Africana

An Africana section will be established in the Library of Congress with the aid of a \$200,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The section, which will exploit the Library's already existing Africana resources, will operate in the Library's Reference Department with a staff of three.

The program for the section, proposed by Librarian of Congress L. Quincy Mumford, is the provision of bibliographies of African materials in libraries throughout the United States, acquisition of African materials for American libraries, stimulation of exchange of materials with African institutions and compilation of reference services on its own holdings.

Establishment of the program was strongly supported by the African Studies Association on the basis of the Library's substantial collection, totalling some 12,000 African items annually, including manuscripts, prints, photos, maps, music and recordings, in addition to government documents, books and periodicals.

MALI INDEPENDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

telecommunications. Mali spokesmen in Dakar have told the press in recent weeks that what they will seek in Paris in January will be control of their own defense, in some form of collaboration to be worked out with the West; separate diplomatic representation abroad and membership in the United Nations; a local currency and "economic freedom." They will be willing to leave communications and air transport as a Community enterprise, to grant military bases to France, to remain in the French monetary and customs union, and to retain French as the official language of Mali.

Heading the delegation to Paris in January will be Premier Keita, the vigorous, progressive-minded Premier of both the Soudan and Mali. Although his right wing critics in France regarded him as a suspect Marxist, his Socialist ideas are of a specifically African flavor, with emphasis on the economic benefits of organizing underdeveloped states along socialistic lines. He started out as a teacher, subsequently entered Soudanese politics and was elected to the French National Assembly in 1958, where he served until the Community was formed. He originally was associated with Houphouët-Boigny's *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* party, but parted company in 1958 when the dissident federalist wing of RDA broke off to form the new African Federalist Party.

Review of 1959:

Major Events of a Momentous Year in Africa

Compiled by Helen Kitchen

JANUARY

Politically-inspired riots erupt in the heretofore peaceful Belgian Congo capital of Leopoldville, resulting in the death of 49 Africans and the arrest of 96 Congolese nationalists. (Jan. 4-5)

Belgium introduces, after months of groundwork, a graduated plan "to organize in the Congo a democracy capable of exercising its prerogatives of sovereignty and of deciding the question of its independence." (Jan. 13)

Representatives of Senegal, Soudan, the Voltaic Republic, and Dahomey meet in Dakar to draft a constitution for the newly-conceived Mali Federation of West Africa. (Jan. 14-17) Subsequently, the Voltaic Republic and Dahomey reconsider, decide not to join.

France ends its three month freeze of Guinea by signing financial, economic, and cultural agreements permitting the newly-independent state to remain in the franc zone. (Jan. 7). Paris extends formal recognition to Guinea. (Jan. 15)

FEBRUARY

Premiers of France's 12 newly-autonomous African republics meet with General de Gaulle in Paris to put final touches on the blueprint of the French Community. (Feb. 3-4)

Dr. Daniel F. Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa from 1948-54 and father of the country's *apartheid* policies, dies in Capetown at 84. (Feb. 8)

Candidates supported by Julius Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) sweep all 15 vacant seats in the second phase of Tanganyika's first Legislative Council elections. (Feb. 9)

Two liberal Rhodesian politicians, former Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister R. S. Garfield Todd and Sir John Moffat, form the multi-racial Central African Party. (Feb. 9)

UK Colonial Secretary Allan Lennox-Boyd announces in Hargeisa Britain's intention to give the people of British Somaliland "executive responsibility" in the government by 1960. (Feb. 9)

President Tito of Yugoslavia makes state visits to Sudan and Ethiopia, concluding economic and friendship agreements with both African nations. (Feb. 3-17)

In Brazzaville, Congo Republic, rioting between rival political-tribal groups led by Premier Abbe Fulbert Youlou and Deputy Jacques Opangault result in 120 dead, hundreds injured, and the arrest of Opangault and his associates. (Feb. 19)

Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister Sir Edgar Whitehead proclaims state of emergency, begins a roundup of some 500 African National Congress members. (Feb. 26)

MARCH

Governor Sir Robert Armitage declares a state of emergency in Nyasaland, orders arrest of Dr. Hastings Banda and nearly 200 other "hard-core" members of the Nyasaland African Congress, and begins bringing in 3,000 Federal troops to assist in quelling rioting. (Mar. 3)

Ghana Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah presents \$980,000,000 Second Five Year Plan to National Assembly aimed at "laying the real foundations of Ghana's economic independence." (Mar. 4)

Kenya Government arrests 34 African members of Tom Mboya's Nairobi People's Convention Party for undermining authority, suspends the party newspaper *Uhuru*, and also suspends the extremist white settler *Independent*. (Mar. 6)

In Soudan elections, pro-Mali forces win all seats, name Modibo Keita as Prime Minister. (Mar. 6-8)

Elections held in Somalia result in the League of Somalia Youth, western-oriented ruling party, winning 83 of 90 seats in Chamber of Deputies. (Mar. 8)

General Ibrahim Abboud, Prime Minister of the Sudan, reshuffles his governing council following a march on Khartoum by three provincial commanders, and relieves the regime's behind-the-scenes strong man, Major General Ahmad Abd al-Wahab, of his duties. (Mar. 4-9)

Northern Rhodesia bans Zambia National Congress on grounds it is intimidating Africans. (Mar. 12)

The UN General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee concludes, after 36 heated sessions, that new elections are not needed in the French Cameroons before independence on January 1, 1960. (Mar. 13)

Northern Nigeria becomes self-governing. (Mar. 15)

In Senegal elections, Leopold Senghor's pro-Mali forces win all 80 seats, name Mamadou Dia as Prime Minister. (Mar. 6)

Sir Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, 73 year old leader of the politically powerful pro-Western Ansar Islamic sect, dies in Khartoum, Sudan and is succeeded by his son, Siddiq Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi. (Mar. 24)

The federalist wing of the *Rassemblement Democratique Africain* (RDA) establishes itself as the African Federalist Party at a meeting in Dakar, elects Leopold Senghor of Senegal as party president. (Mar. 25)

The nine-man Belgian Parliamentary Commission assigned to investigate causes of the January riots in the Congo issues a blunt 94-page report citing racial discrimination, weak administration, unemployment, and events elsewhere in Africa as prime causes of unrest. (Mar. 28)

Premier Barthélemy Boganda, dominant political figure in the Central African Republic, dies in a plane crash at age 47. (Mar. 29)

Two shiploads of gifts from the Soviet Bloc, including military equipment, arrive in Guinea.

APRIL

Three days of post-election violence erupts in Dahomey in protest at gerrymandering which returned Premier Sourou Migan Apithy to power. (Apr. 2) A subsequent compromise installs three party government under Hubert Maga.

Sekou Toure is quoted by the *New York Times* as stating that he accepted arms shipments from the Bloc because Guinea's request to the United States for help in December 1958, relayed through Liberia, went unanswered. (Apr. 3)

First meeting of the Federal Assembly of Mali opens in Dakar, with Leopold Senghor (Senegal) as Assembly President and Modibo Keita

Review of 1959:

(Soudan) as Prime Minister. (Apr. 5)

A half century of French rule in Africa is officially ended and the French Community formally inaugurated. (Apr. 6)

Justice Sir Patrick Devlin is appointed chairman of an independent Commission of Inquiry to study the February disturbances in Nyasaland. (Apr. 6)

Ivory Coast general election gives all seats to followers of Felix Houphouet-Boigny's *Parti Democratique de Cote d'Ivoire* (RDA). (Apr. 12)

Jomo Kenyatta is released from prison after serving most of a seven year sentence for allegedly managing Mau Mau, but is restricted in his movements to the remote northern frontier sector of Kenya. (Apr. 16)

The Soviet Association of Friendship with the African Peoples is founded in Moscow. (Apr. 23)

The Southern Rhodesian Parliament enacts a Preventive Detention Bill and other controversial security legislation. (Apr. 27)

The 14 African elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council end their five month boycott of the Council following a London announcement that a round table constitutional conference will be held "well in advance of the Kenya general elections of 1960." (Apr. 29)

MAY

The Court of Appeals for Eastern Africa rules that the Kabaka of Buganda is obliged to fill, by direct or indirect elections, the five seats allotted to Buganda Province in the Uganda Legislative Council. (May 10)

The Uganda National Movement is officially banned because of its sponsorship of an economically-debilitating boycott of non-African goods and services, and all of Buganda Province is declared a "disturbed area". (May 22)

Two disgruntled Brigadiers lead an unsuccessful coup attempt against the government of General Ibrahim Abboud in the Sudan (May 22), and are subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment. (Sept. 22)

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, meeting in Edinburgh, strongly recommends a "daring and creative transfer of power to the African people of Nyasaland."

The total number of members of the Nyasaland African Congress under arrest is reported to have reached 1,000.

JUNE

Premier Fulbert Youlou's Democratic Union wins sweeping majority in Congo Republic elections, while opposition leader Jacques Opangault remains imprisoned. (June 15)

A new law forbidding Africans to brew their own beer sparks South Africa's worst uprising in a decade,

with thousands rioting in Durban. (June 18)

Emperor Haile Selassie begins a series of state visits to the UAR, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France, Portugal, and Yugoslavia.

Joseph Kasavubu, leader of the Abako movement in the Belgian Congo, announces that his goal is to set up a secessionist Bakongo tribal state in the southern Congo. (June 23)

A Ghana Government White Paper on the results of the December 1958 assassination plot inquiry announces steps to increase the government's powers against conspiracy and subversion. (June 24)

Kofi Busia, leader of Ghana's opposition United Party, arrives in London with his family, announces he had fled from Ghana to forestall arrest. (June 29)

JULY

The Devlin Commission submits a bluntly critical report on the February disturbances in Nyasaland to the British Government, creating a political storm in London. (July 12)

Nyasaland Governor Sir Robert Armitage disputes the critical findings of the Devlin Report in a sharply-worded dispatch. (July 21)

Charles Mutara Rudahigwa, 47 year old Watutsi king of Ruanda territory, dies of a brain hemorrhage and is succeeded by his half-brother, Jean Baptiste Ndahindurwa, now Kigeri V.

In the Congo Republic, 36 persons (including opposition leader Jacques Opangault) are released from five months in prison under a new amnesty law.

Liberia's President Tubman, Ghana's Prime Minister Nkrumah, and Guinea's President Toure meet in a "summit conference" at Sanniquelle, Liberia to discuss the future of the African community.

A long-term \$100,000,000 program of Soviet credit for Ethiopia and a Soviet-Ethiopian trade agreement are announced in Moscow during Emperor Haile Selassie's state visit. (July 11)

The government of the French Cameroons announces a total of 15 deaths and 53 arrests as a consequence of a new wave of political violence by the outlawed Union des Populations Camerounaises (UPC), which began on June 27. (July 15)

AUGUST

Senior officials of the member states of the "African bloc" convene at Monrovia for a five day conference to mobilize African opinion in support of the Algerian nationalists and Nyasaland's Africans, and to discuss other vital issues. (Aug. 4-8)

Queen Elizabeth names Ghana Prime Minister Nkrumah as the first African member of her select Privy Council. (Aug. 12)

Guinea announces acceptance of a loan equivalent to \$35,000,000 from the Soviet Union for economic and technical assistance.

Britain rejects demands of Zanzibar's nationalist parties for immediate self-government.

SEPTEMBER

Maurice van Hemelrijck resigns, under fire, as Belgium's Minister for the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi is succeeded by senior statesman Auguste de Schrijver. (Sept. 3)

The United States announces the signature of a defense and technical assistance agreement with Liberia. (Sept. 10)

Leaders of the Mali Federation serve notice of their intention to seek independence from France, set 1960 as the target date.

Sir Patrick Renison, former Governor of British Guiana, is appointed successor to Kenya's retiring Governor Sir Evelyn Baring. (Sept. 16)

East African nationalists composing the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) meet at Moshi, Tanganyika under the chairmanship of Tanganyika's Julius Nyerere, and unanimously demand that "Africans should be given the right to govern themselves now."

A new constitution providing for limited self-rule and a universal franchise is announced for the British-protected Basutoland enclave in South Africa.

George Padmore, one of the ideological fathers of modern African nationalism, dies in London at 56. (Sept. 24)

Britain extends the franchise to all adults in its West African dependency of Gambia, and introduces constitutional changes aimed at increasing the African role in government. (Sept. 24)

OCTOBER

In the wake of a sweeping Conservative victory in the British elections (Oct. 8), Ian Macleod replaces controversial Alan Lennox-Boyd as Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Minister for the Congo De Schrijver elaborates on Belgium's timetable for the Congo, promising installation of a two-house Parliament and a central government "possibly by August or September of next year" and a popular vote on a constitution by 1964. (Oct. 16)

In response to pleas from both the government and the opposition in the British Southern Cameroons, the United Nations agrees to postpone the plebiscite on the trust territory's future, originally scheduled for early 1960, to 1962.

The Kenya Government sends to the Legislative Council a proposal to open the country's White Highlands for the first time to Asians and Africans of proven competence as farmers.

Guinea's President Sekou Toure and

President Eisenhower, in a joint communique issued at the conclusion of Toure's three day visit in Washington, announce signature of a cultural agreement, establishment of a US-financed scholarship program to train 150 Guinean students abroad, and impending negotiations toward a technical assistance and trade agreement. (Oct. 28)

NOVEMBER

The Sudan and the United Arab Republic, after six weeks of negotiations in Cairo, announce a full settlement of their long-standing dispute over access to the waters of the Nile River. (Nov. 8)

The UN-supervised plebiscite in the British Northern Cameroons registers a surprising 2-1 vote in favor of continuing trusteeship status under Britain for the time being rather than union with Nigeria. (Nov. 8)

The fourth successive attempt to overthrow or modify the year-old military junta which rules the Sudan is quickly suppressed in Khartoum. (Nov. 10)

Governor Sir Patrick Renison of Kenya announces the imminent abolition of the "state of emergency" imposed October 20, 1952 in the course of the Mau Mau uprising, and the early release of political detainees. (Nov. 10)

Politically-based tribal warfare breaks out in the Belgian trust territory of Ruanda between the traditionally dominant Watusis and the more numerous Bahutis, leaving hundreds dead. (Early Nov.)

Belgium announces political reforms for Ruanda and Urundi aimed at the gradual creation of constitutional monarchies in both tiny kingdoms. (Nov. 11)

The UN General Assembly adopts seven resolutions demanding that the Union of South Africa take steps to administer South West Africa "in accordance with the principles and purposes of the mandate" and for the eighth successive year goes on record as opposed to the *apartheid* policies of the Union. (Nov. 18)

South Africa's new Progressive Party, composed of liberal-minded dissidents who recently broke away from the opposition United Party, is formally constituted in Johannesburg. (Nov. 14)

Prime Minister Macmillan announces 20 of the anticipated 26 members of the advisory commission on Central Africa, headed by Lord Monckton, which is to work with affected governments in preparing recommendations for the Federation's 1960 constitutional review. The Labor Party, however, refuses to participate. (Nov. 24)

Premier Ahmadou Ahidjo of the French Cameroons is voted "full powers" for six months to cope with growing insurrection in the country on the eve of independence, January 1, 1960.

The Second African Regional Labor Conference, chaired by Tom Mboya, ends six days of meetings in Lagos by reaffirming its affiliation with the ICFTU, despite strong opposition from Ghana. (Nov. 14)

African elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council state that they will demand responsible government for Kenya in 1960 during the constitutional conference on Kenya's future in London in January. (Nov. 30)

DECEMBER

Two Sudanese army officers and three former officers are executed after conviction by court martial of attempted mutiny against the regime on November 10—the first political executions in the Sudan in 50 years. (Dec. 2)

Tanganyika's Julius Nyerere, speaking as chairman of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), urges the UN to take over direct responsibility for Belgium's twin trust territories, Ruanda and Urundi. (Dec. 4)

The UN General Assembly votes, on the recommendation of Italy, to move up to July 1, 1960 the date for the independence of Somalia. (Dec. 5)

Premier Sekou Toure returns to Guinea after a six weeks world tour which took him to the United States, Britain, West Germany, USSR, Czechoslovakia, Morocco, and Tunisia. (Dec. 5)

Leaders of the three largest African nationalist groups in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland announce from London that their members will boycott the Monckton Commission. (Dec. 10)

Mauritania serves notice that "in due time" it will seek full independence from France. (Dec. 11)

Nigeria's pre-independence elections go off smoothly. Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Northern People's Union, remains as Prime Minister of a coalition government. (Dec. 12)

During the sixth session of the Executive Council of the French Community, meeting in St. Louis, Senegal, General de Gaulle formally announces acceptance of the Mali Federation's wish to become independent in 1960. (Dec. 13)

Tanganyika's Governor Sir Richard Turnbull announces that it is Britain's intention to give the trust territory internal self-government following a general election in September 1960. (Dec. 15)

The Belgian Congo's first elections, to establish municipal and territorial councils, get underway in the major centers under heavy security protection. The Abako boycott holds. (Dec. 20)

Prime Minister Philbert Tsiranana of the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) says in Paris that President de Gaulle has agreed to grant independence to his country. (Dec. 20)

Africans Aid a Needy American

Turning the tables at Christmas time, students at Africa House in Washington, D. C., have come to the aid of a needy American.

The students learned of the plight of "Miss Mathilda R.," who spent most of her life teaching in Africa and was selected this year as one of the "100 Neediest Cases" listed by the *New York Times*. At 86, the *Times* reported, Miss Mathilda would need funds for medical care to help her make the best of her remaining years.

Chinaka Esiaba, a student at George Washington University and a former Nigerian headmaster, volunteered to take up a collection. Students and other Africans in Washington dug into their pockets, raising \$61. Impressed by the gesture, the African-American Institute, through its New York headquarters, added \$100. A check was sent to the *Times*.

Said Esiaba: "Miss Mathilda has spent the best part of her life in Africa as a missionary teacher. We, the sons and daughters of Africa resident in Washington, desire to express our appreciation for her humble contribution to Africa."

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

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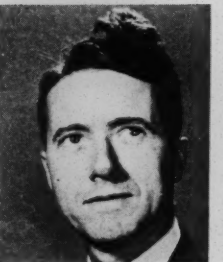
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U.S.-South Africa Program Announces 25 Exchanges

ENCOURAGING progress in the exchange of professional, business and civic leaders between the United States and South Africa was reflected in the second annual report of an exchange program sponsored by the African-American Institute.

Frank S. Loescher, director of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, reported that eleven exchanges were made in 1959 and fourteen more are planned for 1960. The exchanges cover a broadening field of professions, Loescher noted. An editor, a soil conservationist, a bank president, and seven educators including a political scientist, a theologian and a poet were among persons exchanged in 1959. Most were accompanied by their families.

The first of seven Americans to visit the Union under the program in 1959 was Hodding Carter, Editor and Publisher of the *Delta Democrat-Times*, Greenville, Mississippi, accompanied by his wife and two sons. He has written articles about his trip that are scheduled to appear shortly in the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Coronet*.

Other Americans to go out under the program were:

G. McLeod Bryan, Associate Professor of Christian Social Ethics at Wake Forest College, and Mrs. Bryan, to study the teaching of religion in higher education.

Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, and his wife, Guion, both holding Ph.D. degrees in sociology, to lecture at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, until June 1960.

David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, to serve as consultant to the South African Police College.

Lorus J. Milne, Professor of Zoology at the University of New Hampshire, and his wife, Marjorie, both holding Ph.D. degrees in zoology, to lecture at universities and visit conservation areas.

Clinton L. Rossiter, Chairman of the Department of Government, Cornell University, accompanied by Mrs. Rossiter, to lecture at a number of South African universities.

John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, to confer with business leaders of the several racial groups and attend the Ecumenical Conference in Johannesburg in December as a fraternal observer from the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Four South African leaders and their families were in the United States during the fall. F. J. de Villiers, Industrial Adviser to the Government of the Union of South Africa, conferred with American specialists in his field of interest at various universities and institutions in the United States and Puerto Rico. Mrs. de Villiers toured the United States with her husband.

E. P. Groenewald, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Theology and Dean of the Faculty at the University of Pretoria, visited Yale, Union, Harvard, Princeton, Duke, San Francisco and a number of other seminaries. Mrs. Groenewald, who has edited several denominational periodicals, accompanied Professor Groenewald to the U.S.A.

Douglas Hey, Director of Nature Conservation in the Cape Province, and Mrs. Hey, who is also a student of zoology, studied wildlife conservation. Their tour was planned by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

S. V. Petersen, poet and Principal, Athlone High School for Coloureds, Cape Town, and recipient of the 1959 medal of honor of the Academy for Arts and Science, lectured at a number of colleges and universities including Earlham, Howard, Central State, Hanover, Park, Atlanta, Randolph-Macon Women's College, Fisk and Wilberforce. Mrs. Petersen, who is a teacher, and Sidney, Jr., accompanied Mr. Petersen.

Including wives and children, fourteen Americans and nine South Africans were exchanged in 1959.

1960 Exchanges Announced

The following South Africans have been selected for exchange in 1960: S. Biesheuvel, Director, National Institute for Personnel Research; D. C. de Villiers, Editor, *Huisgenoot*, a magazine; G. A. Manuel, journalist, *Cape Times*; S. M. Mokitimi, Superintendent, Osborn Mission, Methodist Church of South Africa; S. Motsuenyane, Technical Adviser to the African National Soil Conservation Association (ANSCA), presently with the Alexandra Anti-TB Association, a teacher; J. J. Muller, Professor of New Testament, Theological Seminary, Stellenbosch; F. J. Potgieter, News Editor, *Transvaler*; P. S. Rautenbach, industrial economist, Union Government; A. Sussens, Assistant Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*; P. F. D. Weiss, Professor of Semitic Languages, Stellenbosch University. All of these men will be accompanied by their wives. Another exchange will

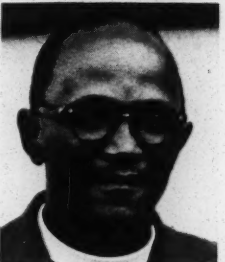
(Continued on page 16)



DE VILLIERS



BIESHEUVEL



MOKITIMI



MOTSUENYANE



PETERSEN



WEISS

Early Civilizations Described

PIECING together Africa's lost past is the theme of eleven articles in October's UNESCO Courier. The tone of the 36-page issue (UNESCO Publications Center, 801 Third Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., 30 cents) may be more colorful than scholarly, but the credentials of its contributors largely speak for themselves in this concentrated and popularized effort to put African history in its proper light.

Setting the tone in a lead article, writer Basil Davidson asserts that Africa's contributions to history and progress are not "limited to interesting works of art", but include a "wide range of political and social achievements."

Elaborating on the theme in an article on "Ancient Chroniclers of West Africa's Past", scholar Thomas Hodgkin points out that "extremely interesting civilizations existed from at least the 8th century, and probably much earlier" in the great belt of savannah to the south of the Sahara, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. The major states of the western Sudan—Ghana, Mali, Gao and Kanem-Bornu—"developed relatively centralized forms of government under dynasties of divine kings which, in most cases, showed a remarkable continuity. . . . They possessed a complicated hierarchy of officials, closely associated with the palace; an elaborate court ritual; considerable military forces; and an administrative system capable in normal times

PUBLICATIONS

Le Panafricanisme (by Philippe Decraene, Presses Universitaires de France: Paris, 1959). One of the last of a Presses Universitaires collection, "Que Sais-Je?", this volume describes the Pan-African movement, including hard-to-come-by information on its development in the French-speaking areas.

Dawn in Nyasaland (by Guy Clutton-Brock, Hodder and Stoughton Ltd: London, 1959). Mr. Clutton-Brock explains African opposition to federation with Southern Rhodesia and presents Nyasaland as Africa's "test case" of whether the voice of the common man shall be heard.

Let's Visit West Africa (by John C. Caldwell, The John Day Company; New York, 1959, 96 pages, \$2.95). This concise book for children emphasizes the newly emergent independent countries of West Africa, and covers the geography, history and economic conditions of the area.

of preserving public order and raising taxes in the outlying provinces."

What this adds up to, Hodgkin suggests, is that "when people talk, as they still sometimes do, about Africa south of the Sahara as a 'continent without a history', what they really mean is that Africa is a continent about whose history we Europeans are still deplorably ignorant."

Swahili Cities

In article on the "Forgotten Cities of the East African Past," Gervase Mathew, of Oxford University, speaks of fragments of ruined towns that represent the "elaborate and in many ways sophisticated Swahili culture" of the Indian Ocean coast, between the fading of the power of Portugal and the rise of the nineteenth century Arab Empire of Zanzibar. These towns, Mathew writes, formed a group of small city states, oligarchic in social structure and grown wealthy through trade in ivory and slaves. In addition, he cites "the remains of far larger cities of a much earlier period," with Mombasa, for one, estimated to have had twenty thousand inhabitants at the time of the Portuguese arrival. "In my present judgment," Mathew contends, "the deserted cities of the East African coast are deserted African cities."

"Ruins of an unknown Negro civilization" in Central Africa are discussed by Henri Bart. The Great Zimbabwe and many other such ruins in the Rhodesias bear "an undeniable stamp of dignity and civic strength" and are "the solid and indisputable fragments of a truly African civilization," Bart writes. While some people cling to the idea that an outside conqueror was responsible for these structures, the answer of the experts, Bart says, "is that these many ruins of Rhodesia, with Great Zimbabwe most prominent among them, mark the early growth and steady flowering of an Iron Age—an age of metals—across some twelve centuries before Europeans entered on a land they thought entirely savage."

Dr. K. Onwonwu Dike, Director of the Benin Scheme of the Department of History in Nigeria's University College, Ibadan, writes of the Kingdom of Benin, whose craftsmen "gave inspired expression to the values which underlay their civilization." Dr. Dike describes Benin as a tropical-forest civilization which, despite the difficulties of environment, "evolved a complex political and social structure based on a divine kingship whose sway extended over a great area."

In another article, William Fagg of the British Museum's Department of

Ford Aids AAI Teacher Service

The Ford Foundation has made a grant of \$42,000 to the African-American Institute for an expansion of its teacher placement service during 1960, it was announced by Loyd V. Steere, the Institute's Executive Vice President.

The grant will enable the Institute to make more teachers available for service in West African schools in response to urgent needs. In the fall of 1959 some 20 American teachers filled posts in schools in Ghana and Nigeria under the auspices of the Institute's placement service.

The program, which is administered by the Institute's Washington office, generated so much interest both on the part of American teachers and on the part of schools in West Africa that additional sources of financial support had to be sought. The Ford Foundation's timely grant will make it possible for the Institute to place another 30 teachers in West African schools.

The need for teachers in Ghana and Nigeria has been most acute at the secondary level. Other countries in West Africa have expressed interest in getting the services of American teachers.

Placement needs are determined by the Institute's representative at Accra, Ghana, in cooperation with officials and educational leaders of Ghana and Nigeria. He also determines the suitability of housing and other facilities at schools where there are openings and makes final placement arrangements with the school authorities.

American teachers interested in this program may obtain further information from the African-American Institute, 1234 20th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Ethnography discusses the unique contribution made by Ife and Benin art to the "sum of beauty in the world." The issue also includes an account by Jacqueline Delange, of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, of the culture and wealth of Ashanti, while Raymond Maune of Senegal's Institut Français d'Afrique Noire deals in some detail with the Kumbi Saleh ruins, believed to be the ancient seat of the Empire of Ghana. Another article, "The March of Iron Across A Continent," by R. R. Inskeep of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in Northern Rhodesia, describes the development of iron metallurgy in West, East and southern Africa as far back as the early Christian period. Ethiopia's past is examined in an article by Jean Doresse.

The magazine is heavily illustrated and makes a useful acquisition at this stage in Africa's history, when it is not only the continent's present that is changing, but its past as well.

RECENT VISITORS

The following were among visitors from Africa in the U.S. in December.

ETHIOPIA: Gobezie Taffete, Ministry of Education, Addis Ababa, on a sixty-day U. S. State Department leader grant.*

FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA: Nicolas Songuemas, President Territorial Section, Confederation of African Christian Workers (CATC), on a sixty-day U.S. State Department leader grant.†

KENYA: Roger J. M. Swynnerton, Director of Agriculture, Government of Kenya, member of the Legislative Council and originator of the Swynnerton Plan for African agriculture in Kenya.

TANGANYIKA: John Keto, Minaki Secondary School, Kisarawe District and member of the Legislative Council, on a sixty-day State Department leader grant.*

UGANDA: Abubakar Mayanja, Acting Secretary-General, Uganda National Congress, on a sixty-day U.S. State Department leader grant.‡

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: Chaim Segall, Secretary/Organizer of the Youth Department, Jewish Board of Deputies, on a U.S. State Department specialist grant.

* Programmed by the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

† Programmed by the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

‡ Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C.



A BIG HIT with New York audiences is African jazz singer Miriam Makeba, recently arrived from Johannesburg. Miriam starred in "King Kong", the first African Jazz Opera, which had overwhelming success in South Africa last year, but it was not until a preview of Lionel Rogosin's film, "Come Back Africa," that she was "discovered" for Americans. Steve Allen and Max Gordon saw her appear in the movie at the Venice Film Festival and arranged her first two U.S. engagements—an appearance on the Steve Allen TV show and a month-long session at New York's Village Vanguard, where she has held her audiences spellbound and won praise from a number of top American entertainers. In January she moves on to New York's Blue Angel. Brought up in Johannesburg, twenty-six year old Miriam started singing professionally in 1954. She sings in the African folk jazz tradition, in Xhosa, her own language, as well as in English.

South African Exchanges Announced

(Continued from page 14)

be Miss H. C. Lambrechts, Secretary, Afrikaan Christian Women's Association.

Among the Americans to be exchanged in 1960 are: Roswell P. Barnes, Executive Secretary in the United States for the World Council of Churches; Wheeler McMillen, Vice President, *Farm Journal, Inc.*, and Mrs. McMillen; Waldo E. Stephens, Executive Vice President, Esperanza Oils, Inc., Oklahoma City, and Mrs. Stephens, member of the U.S. Commission for UNESCO.

The Leader Exchange Program is designed to further understanding between professional, business and civic leaders of the two countries, Dr. Loescher said. The Program is two-way not only in respect to exchange, but also in financing and management, he pointed out. Gifts of a number of American and South African foundations, corporations and individuals are making this private, non-governmental program possible.

An International Management Committee supervises the Program and selects leading citizens for exchange of three months to one year. Recently named to the Management Committee are Mrs. William F. H. Purcell, civic leader and school and college trustee, of Pasadena, California, and Mr. A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, Sanlam, Cape Town. The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the

Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.; the Vice Chairmen are the Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church (N. G. Church) in the Northern Transvaal, and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College; Prof. N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University is Secretary in South Africa and Dr. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary.

The other American members of the Management Committee are: Dr. George H. Bennett, Director, Asia-Africa, Institute of International Education; Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University; Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, International Missionary Council; Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.; Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff; Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation; Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Gordon V. Richdale, Financier; Loyd V. Steere, Executive Vice-President, African-American Institute; Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches.

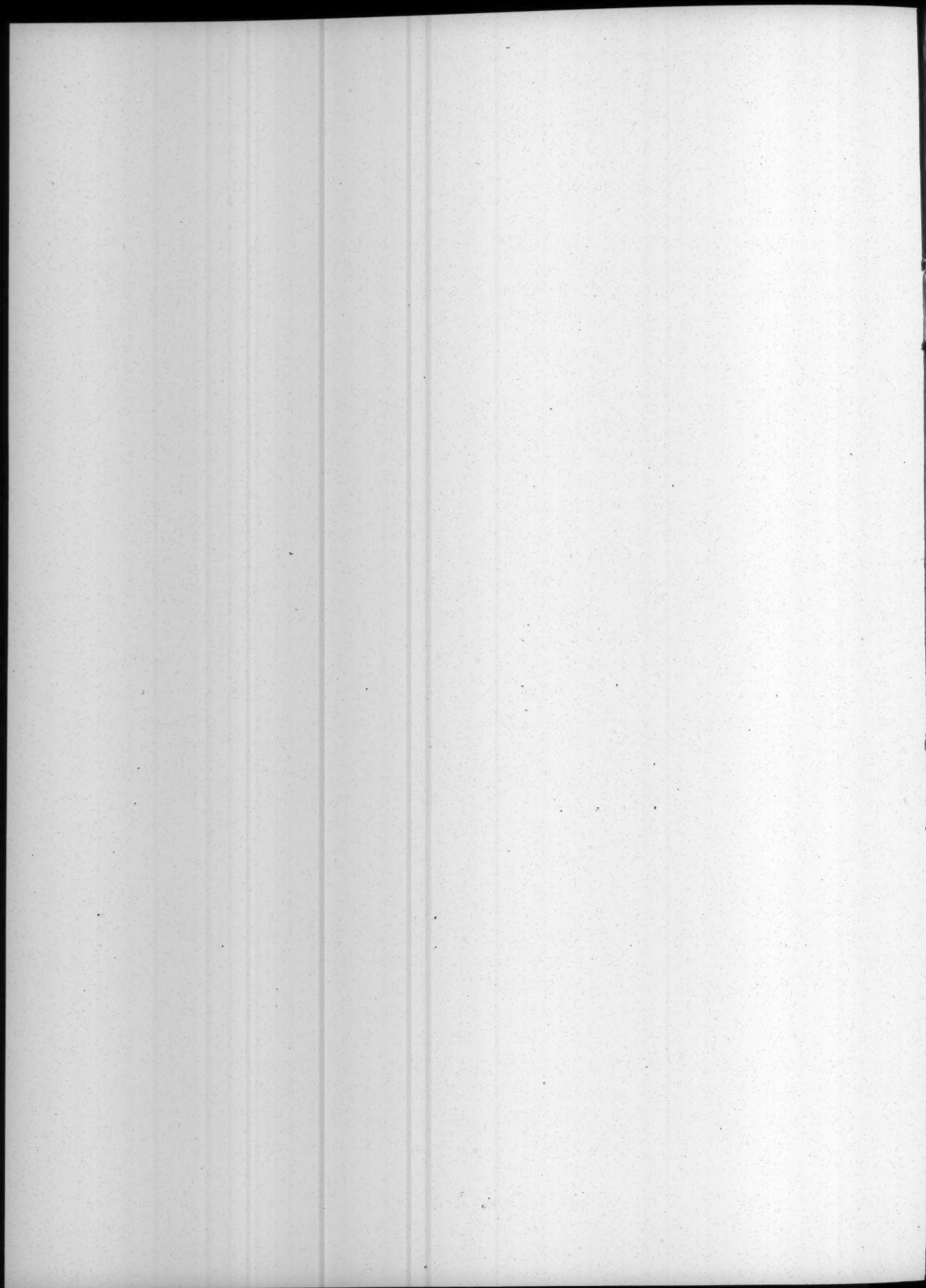
The following South Africans also serve on the Management Committee: H. Goldberg, Ellis Furnishers Ltd.; Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of In-

formation, Cape Dutch Reformed Church (N. G. Church); Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corp.; K. P. G. Schoenian, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corp.; T. P. Stratten, Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.; Prof. W. G. Sutton, Principal, University of the Witwatersrand; Dr. H. B. Thom, Principal, Stellenbosch University; F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations; Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S. A.

**INSTITUT
DE GÉRIATRIE**

41/100/8

BUCAREST



L'ACADÉMIE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE ROUMAINE

L'INSTITUT DE GÉRIATRIE
„PROF. Dr. C. I. PARHON“

41/106/19

BUCAREST

1959



Les recherches cliniques et expérimentales dans le domaine du vieillissement, recherches qui furent entreprises dès l'année 1912 par l'endocrinologue roumain, le professeur C. I. Parhon, rendirent nécessaire la fondation d'un Institut scientifique qui devait orienter les recherches dans cette direction. Fondé en 1952, l'Institut de Gériatrie „Prof. C. I. Parhon” a comme but d'approfondir l'étude scientifique du vieillissement et de trouver les moyens appropriés afin de prévenir et combattre les troubles liés au vieillissement, de trouver les moyens de prolonger la vie active de l'homme. Aujourd'hui, quand les problèmes de gérontologie ont commencé à être débattus, sur plan mondial, en devenant une nouvelle branche qui se détache du cadre de la médecine interne (ainsi que les choses se passèrent avec la pédiatrie, il y a cent ans), le fait d'avoir fondé, par les soins de notre état de démocratie populaire, le premier Institut de Gériatrie du monde, acquiert une signification toute spéciale.

Le Prof. C. I. Parhon, membre de l'Académie de la R.P.R., a eu une grande contribution à la fondation de cet Institut.

Le problème du vieillissement, intimement lié à l'augmentation de la moyenne de la vie humaine, ne constitue plus un simple thème d'étude, intéressant à peine quelques hommes de science. Il est devenu, au contraire, un problème important de recherches scientifiques, avec application pratique, auquel l'État accorde toute sa sollicitude.

Les recherches de gérontologie qui se trouvent en cours commencèrent en 1948, dans le foyer de vieillards „I. C. Frimu”, étant dirigées par un collectif restreint, conduit par l'Acad. C. I. Parhon et le Prof. Ana Aslan. En fondant l'Institut de Gériatrie dans les bâtiments de l'ancien foyer de vieillards on commença par organiser une section ambulatoire, une section hôpital, une section stationnaire et une section de laboratoire (de physiologie, biochimie, morphologie et radiologie). Durant l'année 1958 on y ajouta une section sociale.

Ainsi furent créées les conditions appropriées qui permettent d'effectuer des recherches dans le domaine de la gérontologie et de la gériatrie. Les vieillards habitant le foyer furent soumis aux soins médicaux attentifs et firent, en même temps, l'objet de recherches de longue durée. D'autre part, l'Institut effectue des recherches de plus courte durée, sur un grand nombre de personnes âgées auxquelles on donne des consultations et qui suivent un traitement dans le secteur ambulatoire. L'Institut tient aussi sous observation l'état de la santé de ses anciens patients.

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Entre les années 1952-1957, l'Institut fut tutellé par l'Académie de la R.P.R. et le Ministère des Prévoyances Sociales. À partir de 1957, il reste tutellé seulement par le Ministère de la Santé et des Prévoyances Sociales.

La direction scientifique du problème du vieillissement est confiée à l'Acad. C. I. Parhon, dont la grande personnalité scientifique est bien connue dans le monde entier, non seulement dans le domaine de la neurologie et de l'endocrinologie, mais aussi dans le domaine de la gériatrie.

Passionné de problèmes de biologie générale, l'Acad. C. I. Parhon étudie les phénomènes de la vie dans toute leur complexité. Déjà, au commencement de sa carrière, l'attention de l'Acad. C. I. Parhon fut dirigée vers le processus du vieillissement et vers la lutte contre le vieillissement. Son premier ouvrage dans ce domaine parut en 1908. En 1925 il publie la monographie „La vieillesse, la sénilité, les psychoses de l'âge d'involution, la démence sénile et la démence artériosclérotique", ouvrage qui constitue la mise au point de toutes les connaissances accumulées jusqu'alors, concernant la vieillesse et les psychoses d'involution, et dans lequel l'auteur expose aussi son point de vue sur ce problème. C'est dans la même période que sa conception générale sur le rôle du facteur temps, dans l'apparition et l'évolution des processus biologiques, est consolidée et l'auteur propose un nouveau terme pour désigner l'étude de la biologie par rapport à l'âge : ilikibiologie. La gérontologie ou l'étude de la vieillesse apparaît ainsi comme étant une subdivision de l'ilikibiologie.

À partir de cette période et jusqu'à présent, l'Acad. C. I. Parhon a publié de nombreux travaux concernant l'étude clinique et expérimentale de la vieillesse, sur base anatomo-clinique, biochimique et thérapeutique.

En 1948 il publie la monographie „La vieillesse et son traitement", dans laquelle il montre que les troubles du métabolisme jouent un rôle très important dans le processus du vieillissement et, spécialement, dans ce procès le phénomène d'assimilation domine celui de la désassimilation. L'Acad. Parhon considère que la vieillesse peut être prévenue et traitée comme peut être prévenue et traitée toute autre maladie.

Dans les dernières années, l'Acad. C. I. Parhon, en collaboration avec le Prof. Ana Aslan, reconsidérèrent les méthodes de recherches sous l'angle de la conception nerviste; ils ont étudié les modifications de l'activité nerveuse supérieure chez les vieillards (avant et après le traitement avec des hormones et des vitamines), en utilisant la méthode des réflexes conditionnés vasculaires. Ils ont de même étudié, sur une échelle plus large, l'action de la procaine (facteur H₃) dans le traitement préventif et curatif du vieillissement, en soulignant l'importance de l'action eutrophique de cette substance dans les processus dystrophiques séniles. („La novocaïne - facteur eutrophique et de rajeunissement" - 1955.) Ces constatations ont vérifié la conception sur la possibilité d'intervenir d'une manière active dans les processus ainsi dits „immuable" du vieillissement et elles confirment l'opinion selon laquelle „la vie peut se diriger dans deux sens, soit vers le vieillissement, soit vers le rajeunissement".

Des recherches de date plus récente de l'Acad. Parhon sont à men-

tionner celles qui sont consacrées aux relations entre l'épiphyse et le processus du vieillissement. Il arrive ainsi à la conclusion que : l'épiphyse ralentit le film vital et par conséquent, il préconise le traitement avec de l'épiphyse dans le vieillissement.

En 1955 parut la monographie „La biologie des âges”, qui reflète les nouvelles conceptions de l'Acad. C. I. Parhon sur le vieillissement et les résultats obtenus, après quatre à cinq années de traitement avec hormones, vitamines et extraits tissulaires, chez les vieillards soignés dans l'Institut de Gériatrie.

L'ORGANISATION DE L'INSTITUT

A partir de 1958 l'Institut fut réorganisé en trois grandes sections : une Section Clinique, une Section Expérimentale et une Section Sociale.

Dès sa fondation, la Direction de l'Institut de Gériatrie revient au Prof. Dr. A. Aslan, qui développe une riche activité didactique et scientifique. Elève et collaboratrice du savant roumain D. Danielopolu, Ana Aslan a déployé une intense activité scientifique, spécialement dans le domaine de la physiopathologie du système nerveux végétatif et de l'appareil cardio-vasculaire, activité consignée dans de nombreuses publications de valeur. En parcourant tous les degrés de la hiérarchie universitaire, le Prof. Dr. Ana Aslan fut appelée en 1946 à la chaire de Clinique Médicale de la Faculté de Médecine de Timișoara. En 1949 elle revient à Bucarest, comme directeur de la Section de Physiologie de l'Institut d'Endocrinologie et, avec l'aide de l'Acad. C. I. Parhon, elle initie les premières recherches de gérontologie, dans le cadre du foyer de vieillards „I. C. Frimu”. En 1952, en qualité de directeur de l'Institut de Gériatrie nouvellement fondé, elle organise et dirige l'activité scientifique à la base de laquelle se trouvent les conceptions de l'Acad. C. I. Parhon sur la vieillesse. Elle réussit à donner l'essor aux multiples aspects des recherches scientifiques dans l'Institut, crée des méthodes personnelles de recherches et réussit à déceler l'effet eutrophique de la procaine dans les processus dystrophiques du vieillissement. Grâce à l'efficacité particulière de cette méthode, elle est appliquée aujourd'hui sur une large échelle, tant dans le pays qu'à l'étranger (où cette méthode est encore connue sous le nom de méthode roumaine de traitement de la vieillesse).

Les recherches du Prof. Ana Aslan dans le domaine de la gérontologie se trouvent consignées dans des monographies et dans de nombreuses publications.

La direction scientifique de l'Institut est secondée dans son activité par un Conseil Scientifique dont font partie des personnalités scientifiques bien connues : l'Acad. C. I. Parhon, l'Acad. Șt. Gh. Nicolau, l'Acad. N. Hortolomei, l'Acad. N. G. Lupu, l'Acad. Gr. Benetato, l'Acad. Șt. Milcou, le Prof. E. Crăciun, le Maître de Conf. Dr. M. Pitiș et d'autres.

L'Institut collabore avec l'Institut de Médecine Expérimentale de Riga (U.R.S.S.).

41/100/27

A. SECTION CLINIQUE DE L'INSTITUT

Cette Section comprend trois secteurs: le secteur ambulatoire, le secteur hôpital et le secteur stationnaire.

L'activité de la section se développe en trois directions: l'assistance gériatrique, les recherches scientifiques et la formation de cadres dans le domaine de la gérontologie.

En ce qui concerne l'assistance gériatrique, des consultations sont données chaque jour par un groupe de médecins, dans le cadre du secteur de l'Ambulatoire. Ces médecins sont aidés par le personnel auxiliaire et ils appliquent certains traitements ambulatoires, tout en suivant rigoureusement, par des contrôles périodiques, les résultats des traitements, en effectuant en même temps le contrôle des anciens malades qui avaient été soignés à l'Institut. Les cas qui présentent un intérêt pour les problèmes de recherches de l'Institut et qui nécessitent à cette fin une étude approfondie, sont hospitalisés pour une durée de un à deux mois dans le secteur Hôpital. Dans le secteur du Stationnaire – (foyer), la grande majorité des vieillards proviennent de l'ancien foyer „C. I. Parhon“. Dans leur majorité, ces vieillards, grâce aux traitements biotrophiques auxquels ils sont soumis depuis 9 années environ, vivent encore, en présentant une mortalité fort réduite.

Les vieillards hospitalisés dans le secteur Foyer restent sous observation et sous traitement durant toute leur vie et lorsque, après un décès, une place devient libre, elle est occupée par un des vieillards faisant l'objet d'étude dans le secteur Hôpital et que l'on propose pour des recherches de longue durée dans le secteur Foyer.

Les consultations et les soins médicaux sont absolument gratuits pour les personnes qui travaillent, pour les pensionnaires et pour ceux qui sont réduits à l'assistance sociale. Ceux qui sont assistés à présent dans le secteur Foyer sont âgés de 68–112 ans. On reçoit des personnes même au dessous de cet âge.

Les thèmes principaux d'étude de la section Clinique sont les suivants :

1. Recherche de critères pour apprécier l'âge biologique, par des investigations cliniques, physiologiques, biochimiques, hématologiques, radiologiques. Surveillance de l'évolution des vieillards et appréciation des effets thérapeutiques.

Parmi ces critères nous citons : l'étude de l'activité nerveuse supérieure (par les réflexes conditionnés), l'adaptation de l'appareil cardio-vasculaire à l'effort (par l'épreuve oscillométrique), l'étude de la vitesse de circulation, l'étude de la force musculaire, l'étude du métabolisme basal, l'étude électrophorétique des protéines et des lipoprotéines (outre les analyses biochimiques courantes), l'étude du sang circulant et médullaire, combiné à l'étude électrophorétique, ainsi que d'autres recherches morphologiques.

Les résultats obtenus jusqu'à présent, concernant ce thème, furent consignés dans une série de publications, où l'on a souligné l'importance particulière des données obtenues : par l'étude des réflexes conditionnés vasculaires (en vue d'apprécier l'état du système nerveux cen-

tral); par l'examen oscillométrique avec épreuve à l'effort local et général (en vue d'apprécier l'élasticité et la réactivité vasculaire de la fonction cardiaque); par l'étude électrophorétique des protéines et des lipoprotéines; par l'étude de la perméabilité capillaire différenciée; par l'étude de l'activité enzymatique etc. Chacune de ces études nous donne des indications très précieuses sur la fonction de certains organes ou de systèmes d'organes. Mais elles ne peuvent pas être utilisées d'une façon isolée, comme indice d'âge biologique. Pour être à même d'obtenir une telle indication on est arrivé à la conclusion qu'il est nécessaire de mettre en corrélation le nombre le plus grand possible et le plus varié de données, obtenues par les investigations susmentionnées. Tablant sur les résultats obtenus on a aussi recommandé l'utilisation de cet ensemble de critères pour le contrôle de l'efficacité thérapeutique et pour suivre le processus du vieillissement.

Étant donnée la grande fréquence de certaines affections chez les hommes âgés, comme: a) l'artériosclérose et l'hypertension artérielle et b) les ostéoarthropathies dégénératives, ces affections ont été étudiées comme faisant l'objet de sous-thèmes spéciaux et suivies selon les mêmes critères.

Les résultats obtenus jusqu'à présent confirment la fréquente coïncidence entre l'hypertension et l'artériosclérose chez les vieillards et montrent l'incidence relativement grande du type avec réactivité vasculaire hypotone, une grande incidence de la dysprotéïnémie et de la dyslipémie, ainsi que l'augmentation de la perméabilité capillaire, pour les fractions électrophorétiques macromoléculaires. On a aussi noté la possibilité d'influencer favorablement ces affections, par certains traitements au long cours (procaïne, vitamine E).

En ce qui concerne les ostéoarthropathies séniles, on a relevé leur étroite corrélation avec le système nerveux central et avec les glandes endocrines, corrélation démontrée, tant par la coïncidence de ces affections que par la possibilité de les influencer favorablement par des substances qui ont une action neurotrophe (après l'administration de la procaïne, les améliorations montent à 82%).

2. L'étude thérapeutique du vieillissement, par lots de traitements.

Une ampleur spéciale fut donnée à ce thème, étant donné qu'à la base de la fondation de l'Institut se trouvait justement la conception que le vieillissement est susceptible d'être traité. Ces traitements s'appliquent dans tous les secteurs cliniques et consistent en substances ergonales: (hormones, vitamines, extraits tissulaires expérimentalement démontrés comme étant inoffensifs). Entre les années 1951-1956 on appliqua des traitements avec: des extraits de thyroïde, surrénale, épiphyse, extrait de placenta, de rate, vitamine E, levure de bière liquide et procaïne (substance H₃). À la suite des résultats obtenus et appréciés (statistiquement) prenant comme base les critères susmentionnés ainsi que la diminution de l'invalidité, la baisse de la mortalité et l'apparition des phénomènes de régénération, — on n'a maintenu à partir de 1956, que trois traitements où l'on avait noté une efficacité supérieure, notamment: la procaïne (substance H₃ — avec les cas les plus nombreux — 8 205), la vitamine E et l'épiphyse.

Le traitement à la procaine (Gerovital-H₃). Il est le plus actif dans les recherches de l'Institut et il fut appliqué systématiquement (d'après la méthode préconisée par Ana Aslan) et seulement après un examen préalable clinique et expérimental effectué entre les années 1949 et 1951, lorsque Ana Aslan signala, en traitant certains troubles trophiques des extrémités et des arthropathies, outre l'action locale de la substance, une action générale trophique. La procaine s'est avérée comme une substance eutrophique de grande importance dans la thérapie de la vieillesse, spécialement dans le vieillissement précoce, ainsi que dans la prophylaxie du vieillissement précoce, ainsi que dans la prophylaxie du vieillissement et dans la création des prémisses du prolongement de la vie. Chez les vieillards traités on a observé un changement dans leur attitude envers la vie. Ils devenaient optimistes, dynamiques, leur force de travail physique et intellectuel augmentait, l'activité nerveuse supérieure s'améliorait (la mémoire, la tension, la concentration, le sommeil); la rigidité extrapyramidale (quelquefois les tremblements) se réduisaient; les phénomènes d'artériosclérose cérébrale s'améliorèrent, ainsi que les séquelles posthémiplegiques et les troubles sphinctériens.

On a aussi signalé une efficacité particulière concernant les manifestations dégénératives de la peau et des phanères ainsi que de certaines affections de la peau, où l'on pouvait incriminer des facteurs pathogènes d'origine mésentérique ou neuroendocrine.

Les arthropathies, surtout dégénératives, se sont améliorées dans 85% des cas. On a aussi noté une action de stimulation et d'équilibre de certaines fonctions endocrines. Le processus d'artériosclérose périphérique et centrale chez les vieillards a été favorablement influencé et les symptômes de la maladie ulcéreuse ont été remédiés très rapidement par le traitement.

La capacité de travail des vieillards traités dans le secteur Stationnaire, appréciée du point de vue statistique, augmenta de 48% en 1951, à 87% en 1958 et la mortalité annuelle tomba à 3% (alors que chez d'autres groupes de traitements la mortalité est de 10%). En tablant sur les recherches cliniques expérimentales on est arrivé à la conclusion que la procaine intervient par plusieurs voies dans le processus du vieillissement, notamment par action directe sur le système nerveux, et surtout sur l'écorce cérébrale et sur les corrélations neuroendocrines-végétatives, par son action antiallergique et antislérotique, ainsi que par son action directe cellulaire de type vitaminique.

Le traitement à la vitamine E (extrait huileux de blé germiné) a produit une amélioration de la trophicité générale chez 50% des vieillards traités : une augmentation de leur capacité de travail ainsi que des effets favorables surtout sur les processus dégénératifs articulaires et cardiaques. Du point de vue biochimique on a noté un effet euprotéinisant.

Traitement à l'extrait d'épiphyse. Ce traitement produisit l'arrêt dans la perte de poids des vieillards (action trophique générale), l'amélioration du sommeil, contribua à freiner certains états hypomaniaques, ainsi que la réduction de la mortalité.

3. L'étude prophylactique de la vieillesse. On est en train de faire des recherches dans le cadre du secteur Ambulatoire et dans divers centres

gériatriques nouvellement fondés, où l'on a constitué des groupes d'individus entre 40 et 50 ans qui présentaient des états d'asthénie ou de faibles indices de vieillissement précoce, ces individus ayant été soumis au traitement biotrophique. On a obtenu, jusqu'à présent, des résultats extrêmement satisfaisants avec la procaine. Les résultats constatés concernent la reprise de la capacité de travail chez les individus traités, la réduction de leurs absences à cause des maladies, ainsi que l'amélioration des critères cliniques et de laboratoire.

4. L'étude des facteurs de milieu en relation avec la longévité et le vieillissement précoce, dans les différentes régions du pays. Ces recherches ont pour but de déterminer l'influence des facteurs du milieu sur la longévité et elles sont effectuées par les chercheurs de la section, qui se déplacent dans les différentes régions du pays (montagnes, plaines, collines, littoral, centres industriels et agricoles), où ils procèdent à l'analyse des caractéristiques biologiques des habitants, en fonction des facteurs susmentionnés.

Jusqu'à présent on a constaté que le travail en plein air est un facteur de longévité. Chez les ouvriers agricoles des régions montagneuses on a signalé moins de cas de hypertension artérielle et d'artériosclérose.

Il faut encore mentionner que, dans le cadre du secteur ambulatoire, on a analysé sur un nombre de 17000 fiches de consultations, l'incidence des maladies, par décades d'âge et par professions, ce qui constitue un apport spécial aux problèmes médico-sociaux du vieillissement.

B. SECTION EXPÉRIMENTALE

Cette Section embrasse l'activité déployée dans les laboratoires de biologie, biochimie, physiologie, morphologie, laboratoires affectés tant à l'étude expérimentale qu'aux analyses nécessaires aux recherches cliniques. Une partie de ces recherches étant intimement liées aux problèmes de clinique, elles sont effectuées en collaboration avec les chercheurs de la section clinique, qui travaillent d'ailleurs parallèlement dans l'un des laboratoires de la section expérimentale.

Dans le cadre du thème : **Étude sur la manière d'agir de la procaine**, on a entrepris une série de recherches expérimentales qui confirment la conception de Ana Aslan, notamment l'action de nature vitaminique de la procaine. Ainsi, en étudiant l'action de l'acide paraminobenzoïque et de la procaine sur les cultures d'infusoires, on a démontré que ces substances possèdent une action biocatalitique et que, en les ajoutant aux cultures de levure de bière, elles font monter la consommation d'oxygène, ce qui démontre qu'elles interviennent dans le processus d'oxydo-réduction cellulaire.

Dans le cadre d'une série de recherches concernant la provocation de dystrophies nerveuses chez les rats, d'après la méthode Spéranski, on a constaté que la procaine peut influencer les réflexes dystrophiques en réduisant beaucoup leur intensité. C'est ainsi qu'on réduit le nombre et l'étendue des lésions dystrophiques chez les animaux traités à la procaine, et l'on peut déceler en même temps une action eutrophique gé-

nérale. Ceci montre que la procaine exerce une action de protection contre les processus dystrophiques réflexes.

Dans le cadre du thème : **L'Étude pathogénique de la vieillesse**, on est en train d'effectuer à présent une étude des enzymes du sang chez les vieillards, par décades d'âge; une étude sur la durée de vie des rats traités à la procaine; l'analyse histologique et histochimique des organes des rats traités, en comparaison avec ceux non traités etc.

C. SECTION SOCIALE

Elle fut créée à l'Institut de Gériatrie, vers la fin de l'année 1958.

La section comprend un laboratoire qui s'occupe de problèmes médico-sociaux de la vieillesse et un bureau qui s'occupe de formes d'organisation et de fonction de l'assistance des vieillards. La Section dispose de médecins spécialisés dans les problèmes de la santé publique et de l'assistance sociale. Elle dispose aussi d'un bureau de documentation.

Dans son activité, la Section collabore avec les organes sanitaires et de prévoyances sociales des Conseils populaires, avec les unités médico-sanitaires et avec d'autres instituts de caractère semblable.

Le laboratoire d'assistance sociale étudie les problèmes d'organisation et de fonctionnement des instituts d'assistance sociale de la vieillesse, des foyers de vieillards, foyers de pensionnaires, foyers-hôpitaux, et l'organisation de l'assistance sociale des vieillards dans le cadre de la famille.

Le laboratoire qui s'occupe de problèmes médico-sociaux de la vieillesse étudie les changements dans la structure de la population et les formes d'assistance médico-sociale qui deviennent nécessaires à la suite de ces changements. Il étudie de même le vieillissement de la population active et ses conséquences (réduction de la moyenne de rendement, la dynamique de l'incapacité temporaire de travail en rapport avec l'âge etc.).

Afin de se documenter dans la nouvelle méthode de traitement présentée par l'Institut, des médecins de nombreux pays comme : l'Argentine, la Bulgarie, l'Égypte, la Grèce, le Liban, le Mexique, la Hongrie, l'USA, ont visité l'Institut et ont étudié ses divers travaux.

L'Institut a pris part à de nombreux congrès et conférences internationales consacrées au problème de la vieillesse, parmi lesquels nous citons le Congrès de Karlsruhe, Méran, Minsk. L'Institut entretient une riche correspondance avec les hommes de science et médecins de divers pays.

L'ÉTUDE DE LA VIEILLESSE DANS L'AVENIR

L'Institut a passé de la phase gériatrique, qui fut la raison de sa fondation, à la recherche dans le domaine de la gérontologie. Les thèmes qui figurent dans le plan de travail vont se diriger de manière à ce qu'un nombre de plus en plus grand d'objectifs puissent être abordés,

dans le domaine de la pathogénie de la vieillesse. Les réalisations actuelles de l'Institut de Gériatrie peuvent servir aux autres institutions du pays comme moyen méthodologique pour la lutte contre le vieillissement précoce, contre l'invalidité, tant dans les foyers-hôpitaux que dans les foyers de vieillards, soit dans les circonscriptions rayonales, soit dans les centres de gériatrie, qui seront fondés dans toutes les grandes villes, ainsi que pour les vieillards logés dans leurs familles. L'étude prophylactico-thérapeutique du vieillissement prendra des proportions encore plus grandes.

Dans le proche avenir on aura en vue :

1. L'extension des recherches qui puissent contribuer à la connaissance de la pathogénie du vieillissement.

2. Le développement plus large de l'étude des thèmes de prophylaxie expérimentale et clinique, tant dans l'Institut que dans les centres de gériatrie du pays et dans les centres industriels et agricoles ; enfin, l'application des données obtenues par l'Institut, dans d'autres foyers du pays, foyers-hôpitaux, foyers de pensionnaires.

3. Développement des problèmes sociaux.

a) Développement des études concernant le processus du vieillissement de la population de notre pays. Les conséquences économico-sociales du processus du vieillissement de la population.

b) Nouvelles formes d'organisation et de fonctionnement pour tenir les vieillards sous le contrôle de l'Institut. L'Assistance familiale des vieillards et le placement dans la famille.

c) Nouvelles formes d'assistance médicale des populations vieilles.

Review of a New Faculty Book

W. E. B. DuBois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis, by Francis L. Broderick, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1959.

by

Miles S. Malone

Instructor in History, Phillips Academy



Exeter history instructor Broderick is a graduate of Andover and Princeton

FRANCIS Broderick has written an accurate, judicious biography of this eminent Negro statesman and "master of analysis and controversy." In the opinion of this reviewer, the author has not only acquired a good understanding of his subject but has, in addition, transmitted this to his reader.

Any biographer of Dr. DuBois must face controversy and it is not surprising that a major portion of this book contains material relevant to disputes, many of them started, and all enjoyed, by this extraordinary man. This phase of his public career may have been initiated by his graduation speech at Harvard Commencement. According to *The Nation*, the young Negro orator handled "with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness" a hazardous subject, "Jefferson Davis as a Representative of Civilization."

DuBois was enormously productive in both the scholarly and literary fields but appears at his best writing the language of analysis and controversy. The author found his best work on the editorial page of the *Crisis*.

After the death of Booker T. Washington, in 1915, DuBois assumed the leader's role by descending from his "tower" at Atlanta University into the journalistic arena. The *Crisis*, the official paper for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, became his personal medium, although he made use of other publications, or publishers, for his articles, histories, novels, and poems. He used the most effective weapons near his capable hands and made use of "history, fact, fiction, invective and even good humor" to hammer away "at America's conscience and the Negro's pride." The lifting of Negro morale was the most substantial

achievement of his public career.

One of the most interesting portions of this biography is the discussion of DuBois's associations with "White Liberals." Early in his career he became hostile to "White Colonialism" and evolved his Pan-African ideas. But it was a growing hostility on the part of associates that forced him out of the *Crisis* and into another phase of his career. The author prepares us for this shift and we are not surprised at DuBois's announcement that he accepted, even welcomed, "a largely self-sufficient Negro culture stretching across state and class lines." This was entirely unacceptable to the new generation of Negro leaders; they refused to follow him down the road to reaction — they could see integration straight ahead.

Unfortunately, the DuBois private papers, covering the last great controversy of his long career, have been closed to all except his authorized biographer, the second Mrs. DuBois. Broderick is convinced that Dr. DuBois was always master of his own thoughts. From the evidence he produces, it appears that DuBois had advocated his ideas on colonies and socialism before the Russian Revolution of 1917.

This reviewer has not followed the career of W. E. B. DuBois, over the past quarter century, with a great deal of sympathy. I have found this book as disarming as it is illuminating. America is fortunate indeed, in my humble opinion, that modern Negro leadership was as unreceptive to the DuBois version of segregation as to the Booker T. Washington variety. In time, the American Negro can afford to honor these now repudiated leaders. And during that journey along that straight way to the better life, there may be an occasion for subtlety and soft words as well as force.

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T 2/13

Bloody incident in Belgian Congo.
Brussels Jan. 13.

30 Negroes killed 100 wounded - short
sum up of this affair, riot

The 4th & 5th of January in the administrative
center of Belgian Congo (Leopoldville),
the incident started in one of the
Negro districts of the city, where a
meeting was called by the National
Freedom movement. The police
tried to break ^{up} the meeting, but
the demonstrators gave stiff resist-
ance. Negro population of the city
upheld the demonstrations, in which
participated 50 thousand un-
employed Negroes residents of
the city. Already in the evening the
stormy movement had spread
all over the city. Police opened
fire on the demonstrators and
the city authorities called out
troops from nearby military
bases. All night long troops protected
& patrolled the European section
of the city. From 1830 to 530 in the
morning curfew law was estab-
lished.

The following day the uprising
took an even more widespread form.
Large police forces and military units
with tanks and armored cars were
called into the city and put into action

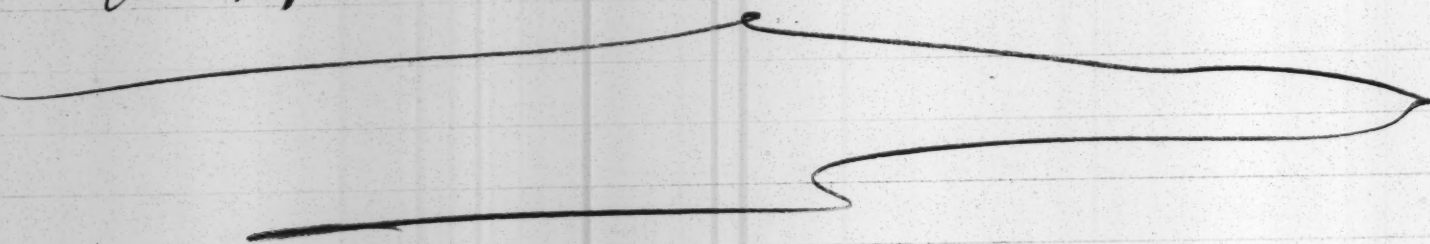
against the Negroes who were armed with stones, clubs and iron rods. Today troops raided the Negro quarters and made many arrests.

All Today's Belgian Press with the greatest of alarm ~~snake~~ reports of these stormy incidents in the Congo. "Unemployment is the real reason for this outbreak." The Belgian socialist newspaper, "People" wrote; The Belgian

Communist newspaper, "Drapo Rouge" wrote with big headlines wrote about the Belgian Congo incidents: "Bloodshed in Leopoldville". "Belgian authorities open fire on demonstrators".

The paper demands that the government give self independence to this Belgian Colony in order to stop a colonial war.

The paper ends up by stating, Neither the Belgians nor the People of the Congo desire or want a new Algerian war.



Brussels 7 Jan.

According to press & telegraph reports Belgian authorities were able to ~~restore~~ ^{impose} order in the administrative center of Leopoldville. Police reinforcements & military units with tanks, many city blocks were barbed wired, & mass arrests, ~~and~~ Everything was done and used to break up the anti colonial uprising of the Negro inhabitants of the City. But in spite of that according to reports by the French agency "French Press", ~~small~~ many groups of uprisers continue to resist the authorities.

Yesterday at a press conference the mayor of Leopoldville Torder affirmed that ~~in order to restore order~~ ⁱⁿ it was necessary to use para troops to restore order, he was ^{also} forced to admit that 300 of the demonstrators were arrested. In spite of the fact, that everything in the city is in order according to the authorities, curfew law has not been changed and military units continue to patrol streets of the city.

The Belgian right wing press try to show that this stormy outbreak of Negro ^{indignation} discontent against racial discrimination is not of political character. In spite of that some

agencies state that there were shouts, 'Independence!', 'Long live Gana!'. The correspondent of the agency French Press ~~was~~ his analysis of the reasons for the outbreak of the bunt was forced to admit that one of the causes ~~was~~ due to the nervousness racial offendness of the population.

The Belgian Metropolitan authorities are seriously alarmed over these late events. Because of the given situation, Eschens, the head of the government has called on the 8th of Jan. a special session of the house of deputies (parliament) in connection with the events happening in Leopoldville. The communist deputy Gaston Muller in the name of the communist group of deputies introduced a move demanding that the government inform the country about the Belgian Congo events & also what action is planned to take in order to satisfy the legal demands of the Congo people ^{the right} nation independence.

The attention of the world press has been drawn to the events in that far away African colony.

From the point of view of the English paper 'Times', this wave is a sensation. The paper continues, Europeans in other districts of Africa

II

will also be alarmed, because they have always looked upon ^{the} Belgian Congo as a stabilized island on a continent of . . .

~~The Belgian communist paper "Drapo Rouge" states (writes) that the use of force (arms) by the Belgian authorities (to stop or break up) to quench ~~repress~~ the ~~struggle~~ against colonialism "Drapo Rouge"~~

The Belgian communist paper accuses the Belgian authorities of using force (arms) in order to repress the struggle against colonialism. the paper states (writes) From repression to colonial war is just one step . . .

Blinded by ~~ideas of~~ racialism or whatever the colonialist may think all of their attempts are in vain. The people of Congo will not refuse themselves ~~of~~ the will and desire to gain independence

Brussel 8th Jan

In spite of official statements by the Belgian government that order had been restored in Bel. Congo, according to reports by the press. events that started on the 4th of Jan. continue, to ~~repress~~ the smash the ~~national~~

movement for national liberation and independence of the Bel. Congo people. the Metropolitan authorities keep sending large police & para-troops etc. these forces are armed with all modern equipment of war. raids are being carried on not only in Leopoldville but also in the Negro quarter of other cities Kumuensa, Kasanguddu, Tisville and other cities hundreds have arrested among them leader of the Abako organization (Association of Belgian Congo Citizens) Kasavubu the storm of determination of the oppressed and exploited Congo peoples is spreading wider & wider Drapo Rouge states: the Congo people have woken up. they are determined to free themselves they have firmly resolved to rid themselves of colonialism. according to a statement of the newspaper "Ballonny" almost one half of the Congolese population are unemployed and live in terrible conditions.

Progressive Belgians uphold the legal and rightful demands of the Congo peoples for national liberation. they also demand that the Belgian government put a stop to all repression.

(Gaston M...)

The Belgian Communist sent a letter in the name of Communist group of Parliament to the Belgian Minister of Defense: The letter demanded an immediate halt of all actions of troops against the population of Congo and calls for national independence of Belgian Congo.

Today's L'Espresso Rouge published a statement by De Coninck, a member of Politbureau of Central committee of the Belgian Communist party. In the name of the party an appeal to the Belgian working class. To uphold the National Liberation movement of the Congo people.

Protest against bloodshed in Bel. Cong.
Brussels 9th Jan. On the basis of news coming from Bel. Congo, inhabitants of the Bel. Congo continue to protest sharply against bloodshed and the bloody massacre of participants in the anti colonial events in Leopoldville.

According to reports of the Brussels radio 9 Mayors of Congolese sent a resolution to the general governor of Congo

4/12/46

in which they accused the Belgian authorities for using firearms and other weapons during the incident speaking of (citing) the situation in Leopoldville, the authors of the resolution stated that "the present quietness is only outwardly." The resolution states: "We decisively and firmly uphold ^{the} lawful (legal) desire & wishes of the Congo population to gain independence & social justice without racial discrimination. The resolution also touches the question of the arrest of ~~the leader~~ of the Abako party Mayor Kasavubu and demands that the general governor investigate the question of his arrest. The Mayors demanded immediate liquidation of military occupation of Leopoldville.

The main Committee of the organization "The Congo National Movement," accuses the action of the authorities, force and inhuman attacks upon participants of the Leopoldville events, demand that the Belgian Parliament set up a commission to investigate ~~the late~~ all incidents with the aim to point out ~~the~~ who is the (blame.) guilty

According to reports of the French agency French Press. The Chairman president Kalambu municipality made accusations upon the Belgian political policy which does not recognize the rights of the for self determination. At the same time

III

all of Africa is marching toward the path of freedom.

The struggles of the Belgian Congo people is upheld and sympathized by all other African peoples. In answer to the man-eating slogans of the Belgian Colonialists in regards to the participants of the National Liberation movement the "Ghana Times" writes

It would be nonsense for the Belgian & Portuguese imperialists to think that Africa is under their control, or is sitting with folded arms and quietly await their fate. At a time when their brothers who were under British and French ~~per~~ imperialistic oppression who are throwing off such ugly slavery.

4/18/47

AD HOC COMMITTEE
Cleveland, Ohio

FINANCIAL STATEMENT 1958

INCOME

Original Guardian mailing
Follow up mailings
Loans

\$ 4381.23
289.50
905.75

TOTAL

4676.48

EXPENSES

Guardian ad and mailing,
including printing, postage,
mailing of receipts

1856.92
905.75

Loans repaid

Donations to the case:

Legal

1130.00

Other, including field trips,
phone, etc.

412.40

NATION ad and reprints

322.76

TOTAL

4627.83

BALANCE 1/1/59 \$ 48.65

4/18/56

2/17/59

41-18-202

The M. V. Lomonosov Soviet State University of Moscow, member of
The Order of Lenin and of the Workers Order of The Red Star
Grants to William Du Bois

The Honorary degree of
Doctor of Historical Science

On January 20th., 1959

Rector- E. G. Petrovsky

P

E. L. SIMON, SR., PASSES AT HOME

4/14C/131

E. L. Simon Sr., 82-year old widely known Atlantan, was dead Wednesday, following a lengthy illness at his 60 Martin Avenue, S. E. home. He passed there Tuesday night.

Mr. Simon had engaged in a number of professions during his useful lifetime, including being a school teacher, contractor, printer and real estate agent. A graduate of Atlanta University and student of old Clark University, he once taught printing at Howard University as well as woodwork at Atlanta's Booker T. Washington High School.

His survivors include two sons and a daughter, E. L. Simon Jr., agency director of Atlanta Life Insurance Company; Robert L. Simon, superintendent of John Egan Homes, and Miss Marguerite Simon, teacher at Spelman College; three grandchildren and other relatives.

Funeral arrangements were incomplete Wednesday, pending the return from Chicago of E. L. Simon, Jr., who was presiding over sessions of the National Insurance Association, of which he was president.

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD, September 3, 1959.

WILLIAMS PART
ERASE
NOTION CONTENT

PERIODICALS DEALING WITH AFRICAN AFFAIRS

- AFRICA. International African Institute, London, England. Quarterly. Scholarly journal devoted to anthropological and sociological aspects of African life. Includes a review of current literature dealing with Africa.
- AFRICA DIGEST, The Africa Bureau, London, England. Bi-monthly. Provides comprehensive coverage of events in Africa south of the Sahara.
- AFRICA SOUTH. Quarterly published in the Union of South Africa. \$3.00 a year. Contains articles on events in South Africa, with emphasis on race relations.
- AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT. African American Institute, Washington, D.C. Monthly. \$1.00 a year. Newsletter devoted to developments in Africa, African-American relations.
- AFRICA TODAY. American Committee on Africa, New York. Bi-monthly. 35¢ a copy. Particularly interested in African nationalism and race relations.
- AFRICA-UN BULLETIN. American Committee on Africa, New York. Free. Mimeographed bulletin, issued periodically; reports on developments in the UN of interest to individuals concerned with African problems.
- AFRICA WEEKLY. New York. 4 page newsletter. \$5.00 a year. Emphasizes developments in the political and racial fields.
- AFRICAN ABSTRACTS, International African Institute, London, England, with assistance from UNESCO. Quarterly. Carries abstracts, in English and in French, of articles in the fields of ethnology, sociology and linguistics, which have appeared in the chief journals of African studies.
- AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Royal Africa Society, London, England. Quarterly. Emphasizes political, economic and administrative questions.

TRADE AND TRAVEL FAIR

Of the 35 corporate representatives who attended a meeting in May to discuss African Trade and Travel Fair, 27 have agreed to serve on the Fair committee.

The committee is currently seeking cooperation from United States and African governments, universities, religious and civic groups and private business organizations with practical experience in Africa.

The Fair is expected to visit 50 American cities and acquaint approximately 60 million Americans with African art, music, dance, skills, rural life, investment possibilities, products, etc. In short, the purpose of the Fair will be to show Americans what Africa has to offer for foreign capital. Opportunity for travel will be graphically demonstrated. Color films of the continent's peoples, modes of transportation, daily activities, etc.

It is proposed that large department stores in each city be used for the display areas. At least one store, John Wanamaker in Philadelphia, has registered interest.

List available from the World Affairs Center, on request,
of Selected Books and Pamphlets on Africa.

UNIVERSITIES WITH AFRICAN PROGRAMS

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

African Research and Studies

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

Area Studies include Africa

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, Los Angeles

DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY

Institute of African Studies

FISK UNIVERSITY, Nashville, Tenn.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, New York

HARTFORD SEMINARY FOUNDATION

HOWARD UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C.

Inter-Departmental Program

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, School of
Advanced International Studies

Area Studies: Africa

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH,
New York

Center for African Studies

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Area Studies include Africa

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Food Research Institute

Program of Research in African

Food and African Cultural Economics

YALE UNIVERSITY

Interdepartmental Committee
on Africa

From a letter from Joseph C. Satterthwaite, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs; commenting on plan for this Focus on Africa: "I feel very deeply that the role of the private citizen is of paramount importance in helping develop and maintain strong and healthy United States relations with the countries of Africa."

SOME OTHER PROGRAMS ON AFRICA

Approximately 32 denominations across the country will participate in the Commission on Missionary Education's 1959-60 study program: "The Way in Africa." Study groups will be formed in state and local councils and in local churches.

The Office of the Board of Managers, composed of Christian Education and Missionary Boards of the various denominations, serves as coordinator of the program and its Friendship Press publishes the material that will be used.

A program to stimulate private overseas investment in Africa was announced recently by the STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE, a not-for-profit organization affiliated with Stanford University.

The new African program, made possible by funds from private industries and foundations, will compile information on investment opportunities throughout Africa.

In charge of the African program is William B. Dale, an international economist and Director of the Institute's Washington office.

AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING WITH
AFRICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES:

Carnegie Corporation of New York, International Educational Exchange Service (IES), United Presbyterian Church, Ford Foundation, Clark University, University of Kentucky, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Texas A. and M. College System, Isaac Delgado Central Trades School, La., Wenner-Gren Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation.

American Society of African Culture is affiliated with the Society of African Culture, an international movement launched by Negro intellectuals in France. Membership in the American group is open to "accomplished persons of Negro descent in America." Its program for the coming year will include a series of seminars, to discuss the mutual effects of African and Western cultures. It also arranges visits and home hospitality for diplomats, scholars, and other visitors from Africa in the New York-Philadelphia area, and is working towards the establishment of an African Cultural Center in New York City.

42/15/18

*How many a man has dated a new era in his life
from the reading of a book.*

—Henry David Thoreau

Books of Quality from Many Lands

**U S A
C H I N A
U S S R
A F R I C A
I N D I A**

•

**L A B O R
N E G R O
Y O U T H**

•

**S C I E N C E
A R T
H I S T O R Y
M U S I C
P H I L O S O P H Y
P O E T R Y
F I C T I O N**

•

—Children's Books
—Handicraft Gifts
—Select Records

GLOBAL BOOKS

**4829 Woodward Ave.
Detroit 1, Michigan**

TEmpLe 2-9715

G

Ethel Pullen speech

Nov 15, 1911

Coatsville & C. Sumner ^{Pease}
Jan.

Race Congress

Corruption Club

Bella Gros
175 W. 93 St. NY 25
Univ 4-4025

4/1/9/9

41/18/55

DANGOULOV, S. A.

See: Soviet Editors' folder